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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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Journal of William Fraser Tolmie, April 30 to May 11, 1833.

Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824; and June, 1825, to September 15, 1826.

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Also shorter documents relating to The first attempt to ascend Mt. Rainier, Beginnings of the Lake Washington Canal, Chief Leschi, Indian troubles, Beginning of the San Juan dispute, Establishing of the Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Transfer of Alaska to the United States and the Secret Mission of Warre and Vavasour.

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE FUR TRADE IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN PRIOR TO 1811[1]

One of the present activities of the historical societies of Oregon and Washington is the publication of source material relating to the early fur trade along the Columbia river. It has been a popular and to an extent a scientific habit to refer to the City of Astoria as the earliest trade center of the Old Oregon country; some of our histories furnish evidence to that effect. It was on the 12th of April, 1811, that the officers and employees of the Pacific Fur Company were landed from the ship Tonquin and established a temporary encampment on the south side of the Columbia River ten miles from Cape Disappointment and immedaitely thereafter began the erection of the trading post named by them Fort Astoria. On the 15th of July, four months later, David Thompson, the Northwest Company fur trader and astronomer, coming from the source of the river, recorded in his journal: "At 1 P. M., thank God, for our safe arrival, we came to the house of Mr. Astor's Company, Messrs. McDougal, Stuart & Stuart, who received me in the most polite manner." And in another connection Mr. Thompson has recorded that the establishment then consisted of "four low log huts." It is the purpose of this paper to designate ad seriatim the trading posts that had been built and in use west of the Rocky Mountains prior to the founding of Astoria and to briefly sketch the beginnings of the fur trade on the waters of the mighty Columbia River.

The first barter with white people by the natives residing on the Columbia River was with the masters of trading vessels along the coast, of which little record has been left to us. When Captains Lewis and Clark, the explorers, descended the river in the Fall of 1805 they found among Indians living quite a distance in the interior "sundry articles which must have been procured from the white people, such as scarlet and blue cloth, a sword, jacket and hat"; and in their journals also appears a list of the names of about a dozen traders who had been accustomed to frequent the

[1]A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at the University of Washington, Seattle, May 21, 1914.

coast at the mouth of the river. When Lieutenant Broughton of the British Royal Navy in the Chatham sailed cautiously into the Columbia River in the early afternoon of October 21st, 1792, he passed at anchor behind Cape Disappointment a trading brig named the Jenny, one Captain Baker in command (after whom Baker's Bay takes its name) and Broughton records that this captain had been there earlier in the same year. The name of Captain Baker does not appear on the list of names set down by Lewis and Clark; by them this same bay was named Haley's Bay after a trader then best known to the Chinook Indians. These brief recitals in authentic records have led some to an unanswered inquiry as to whether some itinerant trader may not have actually sailed into the Columbia River in advance of its discovery by Captain Robert Gray in May, 1792. The diplomats of Great Britain raised no such claim in connection with the dispute over the Oregon boundary line, however.

Turning now to the sources of the Columbia, an interesting contrast exists between the beginning of trade there with that on the upper Missouri River across the Rocky Mountain range. Manual Lisa is the name prominently connected with the Missouri River at that period; immediately following the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Lisa built a trading post on the Yellowstone River at the mouth of the Big Horn and began to purchase furs for transport to St. Louis; that was during the summer of 1807. At the same time David Thompson, a partner of the Northwest Company of Canada, was building an establishment at the head waters of the Columbia, from which he transported furs to the Rainy Lakes, and Fort William on Lake Superior. Manual Lisa had troubles with snags and Indians along the Missouri and was resourceful to overcome them. David Thompson experienced even greater difficulties in crossing the Rocky Mountains and descending the long course of the Saskatchewan River to Lake Winnipeg. David Thompson is one of the most remarkable figures connected with the history of the Columbia River; the record of his career written with his own hand is not only of great scientific value, but an inspiration to any earnest student of the history of this Pacific Northwest. He has been described as the greatest land geographer the English race has ever produced.

The Columbia River is estimated to be fourteen hundred miles in length and Kettle Falls in the State of Washington about forty miles below the Canadian Boundary marks very closely the half way point on the river. It may be said quite accurately then that one-half of the river is in British Columbia and one-half in the United States, speaking of the main river and not of its branches. The statesmen who decided the Oregon boundary question did not have this equal division in mind, but nature has furnished this suggestion of their fairness.

As if to purposely render our history romantic the first trading post upon any of the waters of the Columbia River, including its branches, was built almost at the very source of the main river, near the outlet of the chain of small lakes which resolve themselves into the river. Tobey Creek, following eastward from the glaciers of Mt. Nelson of the Selkirk Range, enters the Columbia River from the west about one mile below the outlet of Lake Windermere in the political division of British Columbia known as the East Kootenay District. Upon an open gravelly point overlooking Tobey Creek and "a long half mile" (quoting from David Thompson's original survey notes) from the Columbia stood the stockade and buildings marking the beginning of commerce in the interior of "Old Oregon." The exact site of this House has recently become known by the unearthing of the old chimneys of the buildings, as well as by Indian tradition. An earlier location on Canterbury Point, Lake Windermere, at first selected was abandoned before any buildings were completed because of exposure in procuring water for domestic uses. (Compare with Lyman's History of the Columbia River, Putnam's & Sons, 1911, page 282.) "Kootenae House" was the name given to this trading post, and it is not to be confounded with the Fort Kootenay of a later date and different location. Nor are we to forget that on the waters of the Fraser River Basin posts had been established in the year 1806 by Simon Fraser and his partners.

In this romantic locality David Thompson spent the fall, winter and spring of 1807-8 in company with his clerk, Finan McDonald, and six servants. He put up his thermometer and set down the first record of the weather in interior British Columbia. With other scientific instruments he determined the latitude and longitude of the House and of the Lakes. He bestowed the name upon Mt. Nelson (now locally known as Mt. Hammond), which looms up so grandly to the westward of Lake Windermere, and determined its altitude. He found bands of wild horses roaming over the hills and caught some of them; he observed and made record of the habits of the salmon spawning in the river. He gathered in trade one hundred skins of the wild mountain goat which brought a guinea apiece in the London market. He was besieged for some weeks by a band of Peegan Indians who crossed the Rocky Mountains with instructions to kill him because the prairie Indians did not wish to have the Kootenays supplied with fire arms, powder and ball. In March, 1808, Mr. James McMillan visited him from Rocky Mountain House on the Saskatchewan with dog teams and sleds, bringing more trading goods and carrying back as many packs of furs. His trade was with the Kootenaes of the vicinity and from as far south as Northwestern Montana of the United States. In April, 1808, he made an exploring trip down the Kootenay River as far as

Kootenay Lake, and in June recrossed the Rocky Mountains with his furs and carried them to Rainy Lake House before again returning to Kootenae House for another winter. The government of British Columbia could well afford to permanently mark the site of Kootenae House in honor of this remarkable trader, astronomer and pathfinder.

At the beginning of the second winter at Kootenae House Mr. Thompson felt sufficiently acquainted with the country and the Indians to begin to push the trade further to the south. The Kootenay River, taking its rise in the main range of the Rocky Mountains, flows southward into the United States in Montana and in its course passes within a mile and a half of the lake out of which as its real source the waters of the Columbia River flow northward for two hundred miles before turning to the South. The divide between Columbia Lake and the Kootenay River is not a ridge or a mountain, but a level flat of gravelly soil not at all heavily timbered, which affords a very easy portage for canoes. Across this portage in November, 1808, went Finan McDonald, Mr. Thompson's clerk, with a load of trading goods, and descended the Kootenay River to a point on the north bank just above Kootenay Falls and nearly opposite to the town of Libby, which is the county seat of Lincoln County, Montana, and there set up two leather lodges for himself and his men, and built a log house to protect the goods and furs and spent the winter, being joined later by James McMillan, already mentioned. Here during the winter of 1808-9 were carried on the first commercial transactions of white men south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude and in that part of the Old Oregon Country which afterward became a part of the United States.

News travels rapidly among the Indians and later events indicate that furs must have been brought to this winter camp from the Saleesh or Flathead country to the southeast and from the region of Pend d'Oreille lake to the southwest. About three years later at a point a few miles further up the Kootenay river but on the same side (nearly opposite Jennings, Montana) the Northwest Company erected a more permanent trading post known as Fort Kootenay, in opposition to which in 1812 the Pacific Fur Company built another Fort near by. At Fort Kootenay took place the bloodless duel between Nicholas Montour and Francis Pillet "with pocket pistols at six paces; both hits; one in the collar of the coat, and the other in the leg of the trousers. Two of their men acted as seconds, and the tailor speedily healed their wounds." This is the story told by the facile pen of Ross Cox.

The year 1809 brought to the active notice of the Northwesters the intention of John Jacob Astor to occupy the mouth of the Columbia River and the records of the House of Commons in London show a petition from the Northwest Company for a charter which would give them prior rights

of trade upon Columbian waters. David Thompson, however, was not waiting for charters, but prepared to act according to the teachings of the later David Harum, that is, "to do to the other fellow as he would do to you and do it fust." He knew from the results of the winter trade at Kootenay Falls that there were Indians of a friendly disposition living to the south of the Kootenay and doubtless he also had already some knowledge of the route of the Lewis and Clark party on their return trip in 1806, for the following year he had a copy of Patrick Gass' Journal with him as he traveled. So after a trip across the Rocky Mountains to leave his furs and obtain more trading goods he returned to the Columbia during the summer of 1809 and from there descended the Kootenay River as far as the present site of Bonners Ferry in Idaho, where his goods were transferred to pack animals and taken southward across the regular Indian trail (the "Lake Indian Road" as he called it) to Pend d'Oreille lake. And on the 10th of September, 1809, upon one of the points jutting out into the lake near the town of Hope, Idaho,, he set up his leather lodge or tent upon the site of the next trading post upon Columbian waters which was called Kullysspell House. A substantial log house was at once built for the protection of the goods and furs and another for the officers and men, and Mr. Finan McDonald placed in charge. Kullyspell House did not remain in active use for more than two winters probably, other posts to the eastward and westward being found sufficient to care for the trade, but business was lively there during the season of 1809-10. Ross Cox, who passed that way in the Fall of 1812, makes no mention of this Post, but John Work when crossing the lake in 1825 mentions a camp at "the Old Fort." No trace of its site has been found in these later years.

No sooner had the buildings of Kullyspell House been well begun than David Thompson set off again, to the southeastward up the Clark's Fork of the Columbia River in the direction of the principal habitat of the Saleesh Indians, a tribe more commonly but less properly known as the Flatheads. He traveled about seventy-five miles up the river to a small plain ever since known as Thompson's Prairie on a bench overlooking the north bank of the Clark's Fork River located his next trading post called Saleesh House. Three miles below is Thompson Falls and two miles above is Thompson River, and to the State of Montana alone belongs the distinction of preserving to history in its nomenclature a permanent reference to this indefatigable and remarkable man. Thompson's Prairie appears to have been in olden times the refuge of the Saleesh Indians when pursued by their enemies, the roving Peegans or Blackfeet. Just above the prairie to the southeastward the hills again hug the river on either side and there is a stretch of shell or sliding rock over which the Indian trail passed. This place is locally known to the Indians as Bad Rock and across it

the Peegans did not dare to pass; and Mr. Thompson carefully placed his "House" on the safe side of Bad Rock. After acquiring fire arms the Saleesh were on more of an equality with the Peegans and able to defend themselves in battle, both when hunting the buffalo along the Missouri River and in their own country. So in later years this trading post was temporarily at least removed further up the river beyond Bad Rock. In 1824-25 it was located where the Northern Pacific railroad station named Eddy now is, and later it was near Weekesville, a few miles further up the river. About 1847 Angus McDonald removed it to Post Creek, near the St. Ignatius Mission in the beautiful Flathead Valley. Whenever located it was the scene every winter of very lively and extensive trade, the Saleesh being of all the tribes of Indians the most moral and friendly in their relations with the whites, not even the Nez Perces being excepted. Missolua, Montana, today succeeds Saleesh House as the commercial center of the Flathead country and as a city exceeds Astoria in both population and bank deposits. David Thompson spent the winter of 1809-10 at this trading post in company with his clerk, James McMillan, who arrived in November by way of Kootenay River with additional trading goods. Again in 1811-12 after his famous journey to the mouth of the Columbia Mr. Thompson wintered here.

When in April, 1810, he started on his annual journey across the Rocky Mountains, Mr. McMillan accompanying him, by the usual long and wearisome series of canoe routes and portages Mr. Thompson expected to be back again in the early Fall, and he left Finan McDonald in charge of Saleesh House with instructions or permission to assist the Saleesh Indians in the use of their newly acquired firearms. Such an activity was very much to the liking of that restless Highlander and he even accompanied the tribe on their annual buffalo hunt and took part in a successful battle with the Peegans on the plains along the Missouri River. The Peegans were so angered by this that they at once made trouble on the Saskatchewan River further north and prevented Mr. Thompson's party from returning over the usual mountain pass. He was compelled to seek a route through the Athabasca Pass and as a result did not arrive at the Columbia at all until the middle of January, 1811, and was ice bound for the rest of the winter at the mouth of Canoe River.

In April, 1810, when at Kullyspell House Mr. Thompson had also engaged the services for the summer of one Jaco Finlay (whose full name was Jacques Raphael Finlay), an intelligent half-breed who seems to have been already living in the Saleesh country as a sort of free-hunter; and the presumption is that he authorized Finlay to push the trade further West into the Skeetshoo, which would be the Cœur d'Alene Country. At any rate, when Mr. Thompson returned to the Saleesh country in June, 1811,

he found no one there nor at Kullyspell House, but he did find both Jaco Finlay and Finan McDonald residing and trading at a new post designated as Spokane House. To Jaco Finlay then, possibly assisted by or assisting Finan McDonald, probably belongs the honor of selecting the site and erecting the first buildings at SPOKANE HOUSE, located on a beautiful and sheltered peninsula at the junction of the Spokane (then known as the Skeetshoo River) and the Little Spokane Rivers, a spot where the Indians were accustomed to gather in large numbers to dry their fish. The location was nine or ten miles northwest of the present flourishing city of Spokane, which has suceceded it as a natural trade center, and which today outranks Astoria in both population and commercial importance. Alexander Henry states in his journal that Spokane House was established in the summer of 1810. It was maintained as the principal distributing point in the interior by the Northwest Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company until the Spring of 1826, but was then abandoned in favor of a new post at Kettle Falls (Fort Colvile) on the direct route of travel up and down the Columbia. The cellar holes of the buildings at Spokane House can still be indistinctly seen by those who know where to look for them. In 1812 a very short distance from these buildings the Pacific Fur Company built a rival establishment, which was maintained until the dissolution of that Company in the fall of 1813.

There remain to be mentioned three other valid attempts to establish trade relations in the basin of the Columbia, the first of which may have antedated the building of Spokane House by a brief period. This was the enterprise of the Winships of Boston, who sailed into the river in the spring of 1810 and began to erect some buildings on the Oregon shore at Oak Point about fifty miles from the sea. This attempt was abandoned almost immediately because of the sudden rise of the river with the melting of the snows inland; it was a matter of weeks only and possibly of days. The second was the temporary residence of Andrew Henry of the Missouri Fur Company during the winter months of 1810-11 on the upper waters of the Snake River near the present town of St. Anthony, Idaho. (Compare with Lyman's History of the Columbia River, p. 109.) The overland party of Astorians found his abandoned cabins upon their arrival in the early Fall of 1811, and it was many years afterward before Fort Hall was built as a trading post in that general locality. The third was the only attempt of the Hudson's Bay Company to compete with their rivals, the Northwest Company, for the Indian trade West of the Rocky Mountains. Alexander Henry makes mention in his journal of the starting off of this expedition from Rocky Mountain House on the Saskatchewan in the summer of 1810 under the charge of Joseph Howse, and states that James McMillan was sent to follow and keep watch of them. David

Thompson when near the source of the Columbia in May, 1811, on his way from Canoe River to the Saleesh country and beyond met an Indian who told him that this Hudson's Bay Company party was already returning and was then at Flathead Lake. It is not positive where this party spent the winter, but in his "Fur Hunters of the Far West" (Vol. 2, p. 9) Alexander Ross places them on Jocko Creek in Missoula County, Montana, near where the town of Ravalli is now situated; while an early edition of the Arrowsmith map of British North America (which maps were dedicated to the Hudson's Bay Company and purported to contain the latest information furnished by that Company) shows their trading post at the head of Flathead Lake very near to where the city of Kalispell, Montana, now is.

The editor of a prominent newspaper in Montana upon reading of the establishment of Saleesh House by David Thompson in the year 1809 wrote that they were beginning to feel quite antiquated in Western Montana. Trade in the Kootenay District of British Columbia antedated the building of Astoria by three and a half years, and that in the Flathead country of Montana by one and a half years, and that at Spokane, Washington, by at least six months. The cities that have become the commercial centers of these interior districts have not been built upon the exact sites of the early trading posts unless that may be said as to Spokane, Washington, but all have been built along the same established Indian trails or roads, and these have become the transcontinental railroads of today.

Search for the existing records of these early enterprises and for physical remains of the early trading posts may be likened to the search for gold by the miners in the Inland Empire during the early sixties. The Old Oregon Country is as rich in history as in the precious metals; the search for the one adds to our culture and that for the other only to our material wealth.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1914

The obituaries following are those of pioneers whose deaths have come to the notice of the biographer. The information given is chiefly obtained from the newspapers of the day. For the purposes of this article those only are considered pioneers who had lived upon the Pacific Coast before 1860, and were residents of the State of Washington.

Shephard, Mrs. A. F.—Born in Racine County, Wisconsin, Aug. 27, 1848; died in Seattle, Jan. 2d, 1914. She came to Oregon in 1850, and to Washington in 1860. She lived in Snohomish and Chehalis Counties, but in 1894 settled in King. In 1873 she became the wife of Charles Shephard.

Kees, Samuel M.—Died at Walla Walla Jan. 23d, aged 78 years. He came by ox team to Oregon in 1848, settling at Lebanon. In 1861 he removed to Walla Walla, where he was a cattle farmer. A widow and two children survive him.

Cooper, W. B.—Died at Centralia, Jan. 23d, aged 71 years. He had lived in Southwestern Washington since 1852. Five sisters survive him.

Brannan, Sarah—Born at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, Nov. 24, 1841; died at Okanogan, Jan. 27th. She was the daughter of Capt. B. F. Henness, a Thurston County pioneer of 1852. During the Indian war of 1855-56 Henness was Captain of a Company of Volunteers, and a fort at or near Tenino was named after him, in which his family and others lived for protection against the savages. Henness was one of the first grist millers of Washington. Sarah married Joseph Brannan in 1857, and thereafter for most of the years dwelt in White River Valley, King County. Joseph Brannan was a brother of W. H. Brannan, who, with his wife and child, were killed by the Indians near the town of Auburn, Oct. 28th, 1855.

Gillespie, James.—Born June 28th, 1853, at Winnebago, Wisconsin; died Feb. 9th at Coupeville. He came to Portland, Oregon, in 1858, and to Whidby Island, Washington, in 1859. He married Keturah, daughter of Capt. Thomas Coupe, after whom the town of Coupeville was named. She and three sons survive.

Mustard, John—Born in Lee County, Virginia, Sept. 30, 1835; died at Dayton Feb. 13th. He came to Golo County, Cal., in 1854,

and to Columbia County, W. T., in 1866. He was a farmer. In 1880 he was sheriff. A widow and six children were left.

Hemenway, Stacey—Born in Laporte County, Indiana, in 1836; died on the Klamath Indian Reservation, Oregon, Feb. 19th. Came to Oregon in 1853; served in the army during the civil war, as Surgeon of the Ninth Illinois Regiment. After the war he came to Washington Territory, and was the first Superintendent of the Territorial Insane Asylum. For twenty-five years he was in the Indian service on the Klamath Reservation.

Doughtery, Julia—Born in Ireland in 1826; died in Seattle Feb. 23d. She came to California in 1849; to Oregon in 1863, and to Washington in 1873.

Ostrander, John Y.—Born in Cowlitz County, W. T., April 26, 1857; died at Olympia March 1st. He was member of one of the best known pioneer families, after whom the town of Ostrander, in Cowlitz County, was named. He studied law under William Strong, one of Oregon's first judges. He held several offices in Olympia, Seattle, and Juneau. Eleven years he lived in Alaska. His wife was Fanny S. Crosby, they being married in 1880. He had seven sisters, who survived him.

Peterson, Clara D.—Born at Steilacoom, July 13th, 1856; died at Tacoma March 5th. She was one of the three daughters of Capt. Warren Gove, who, coming from Boston, made his home in Pierce County in 1853. She married Capt. John T. Cormick in 1876, who died in 1882; her second husband being Charles E. Peterson, married in 1886. Mrs. Peterson belonged to several different societies, but was greately attached to the Pierce County Pioneers, of which she was one of the organizers and treasurer to the time of her death. A husband, son and daughter and two sisters survive her.

Sanderson, John H.—Born in Boston, June 27, 1832; died in Seattle March 22d. He came to California in 1850, and to Washington in 1869. He was a merchant in Seattle for many years. He and his wife were largely instrumental in the organization of the Plymouth Congregational Church. She was also one of the organizing members of the Ladies' Relief Society. Both belonged to the Pioneers. The wife and daughter were left.

Waddell, Susan S.—Born in Lawrence County, Illinois, Aug. 6th, 1835; died in Seattle March 7th. She belonged to the Lewis family, which came to Clark County in 1852, and to Thurston County the year after. She left six children and a number of grandchildren.

Sweazea, James William—Died in Seattle March 31st, aged 66 years. He came from Missouri in 1859. He lived thirty years in Walla Walla before 1890. Three sons and a daughter were left.

Sanborn, Homer D.—Born in Merrimac County, N. H., in 1833; died at Tacoma, April 7th. He came to Oregon in 1857, and for most of the years since lived in Portland.

Hopkins, Lucy S.—Born in Illinois in 1833; died in Seattle April 11th. She was daughter of Edward D. Baker, one of the great men of the nation during his time—orator, statesman, soldier and citizen. She came to California in 1850, and was married in 1854 to Capt. Charles Hopkins. Thereafter they lived in Vancouver, Olympia and Seattle. Capt. Hopkins was U. S. marshal in Washington Territory, and his son, Charles, held the same office in Washington State. Three sons and a daughter were left by Mrs. Hopkins.

Bolton, Mary—Born in England in 1833; died at Tacoma April 18th. With her husband, William Bolton, she came to Puget Sound in 1850, on the ship Norman Morrison. They took a 640-acre donation claim on the Sound between Steilacoom and Tacoma. He was the first shipbuilder in this state, three schooners of 60 tons each being turned out of his yard during his first three years there. His death preceded that of his wife several years.

Pontius, Albert—Born in King County in 1859; died at Seattle May 3d. He was a son of Resin W. and Margaret Pontius. His father, a brother and a sister survive.

Wood, Mrs. Solomon—Born in Polk County, Oregon, Sept. 12th, 1846; died at Walla Walla May 15th. She was the daughter of John Waymire. All her 68 years of life were spent in Oregon and Washington. To her husband, a stock farmer, she was married in 1862.

Jacobs, Orange—Born at Genesee, N. Y., May 2d, 1827; died at Seattle May 21st. He came to Oregon in 1852, and remained there until 1869, in Marion and Jackson Counties. He taught school, practiced law, edited a newspaper and did other things in pursuit of a livelihood. Though in the political minority—a Republican—he was prominent in the public affairs of that territory and state. He was appointed by President Grant associate justice of the Supreme Court in Washington Territory and still later chief and reappointed the latter. He served as judge six years, when he was elected Delegate to Congress and reelected, serving four years ending in 1879. Shortly after his return to the territory he was elected mayor of Seattle, and when the city became much greater he served the people as corporation counsel. Some years later—

1897 to 1901—he was judge of the Superior Court of King County. He was a territorial legislator. Between times he practiced law. Twice he was president of the Washington Pioneers. He was also a regent of the University. A willing, helpful man, a good talker, a writer of ability, genial and sympathetic, he was popular, respected and honored by all. A wife and seven children were left.

Furth, Jacob—Born in Bohemia, Austria, Nov. 13th, 1840; died at Seattle June 2d. He came to America in 1854. In 1858 he was in California, where he lived twenty-five years, first at Nevada City, then at North San Juan and last at Colusa. He was a merchant, and by industry, foresight, saving and care he prospered, accumulated and became well-to-do. In 1883 he removed to Seattle, and started the Puget Sound National Bank, he being cashier. Under his politic and skilful management, the bank extended, its capital being repeatedly increased. Later he was president, but still the head man. When the Puget Sound was merged in the Seattle National he went with it, the largest and most influential stockholder. Mr. Furth joined the Chamber of Commerce soon after coming here, was a trustee twenty-four consecutive years, and once president. He was identified with many business enterprises, the leading one being the electric companies that owned the railways in Bellingham, Everett, Tacoma, Seattle, the two interurbans, light and power plants, heating plant, Renton coal mine, etc., one of the largest establishments of its kind in the world, he being its president. These things being true, he was necessarily a citizen of great wealth, usefulness and fame. He was tolerant of others, in religion, politics and business; was shrewd, courteous and deservedly popular. A widow and three daughters survive him.

Landers, L. O.—Died at Lisabeula, King County, June 6th, 86 years of age. He came to California in 1851, and a few years later to Oregon and Washington. In 1880 he settled on Vashon Island, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Longmire, Ellen—Born in Oregon in 1856; died at Tacoma June 6th. She was a member of the Thornton family of Thurston County. Her husband, John A., was of the pioneer Longmire family of the same county. Eleven children were born to them, ten of whom are now living.

Slater, John F.—Born in Maryland; died in Seattle June 25th, aged 73 years. He came to California in 1850, and to Washinton in 1903.

Littlejohn, James K.—Died in Seattle June 28th, aged 65 years. He crossed the continent with the family in 1852, they settling at Olympia, and being well known in the district of country thereabout. Three

brothers and three sisters survive him, residents of Tacoma, Olympia, Grand Mound and Centralia.

Barlow, Byron—Born at Plymouth, Michigan, in 1838; died at Tacoma July 5th. He came to Cowlitz County, Washington, in 1853. In 1862 he went into the gold mining country of Idaho and adjacent parts. As a lieutenant he was engaged in the Indian troubles of 1865-66. In 1870 he was member of the Territorial Legislature, and in 1890 of the State Legislature. He held various other public offices, and also was identified with a number of commercial enterprises, the chief one being the building of the first graving dock in the Puget Sound Navy Yard, by Byron Barlow & Co.

Peterson, Margaret Chambers—Born at Steilacoom June 29th, 1856; died at Seattle July 20th. She was the daughter of Judge Thomas M. Chambers, who crossed the plains to Oregon in 1845, and who soon after settled upon a land claim in what is now Pierce County. Margaret married Oliff Peterson, and was the mother of three sons. She belonged to six different societies, in all of which she took interested, active parts. She was secretary of the Pierce County Pioneer Association from its beginning in 1903 to the end of her life.

Richards, Mary Elizabeth—Died in Portland, Oregon, June 26th, aged 64 years. With her parents she came to Oregon and Washington in 1852. Her father, Thompson B. Speake, was a chairmaker, the first in this country. He made chairs to stay, and they have stayed in thoroughly good condition for fifty and sixty years. They lived in Chehalis and Thurston Counties. Mary was postmistress at Fulton, Oregon, for twenty years, prior to which she had been postmistress at Tualatin.

Webb, Amanda, Jane—Born May 7, 1873, at Frankfort, Ill.; died at Tacoma Aug. 7th. In 1853 she came to California and in 1862 to Washington, her father being John T. Knox, Indian agent at Skokomish. She married Thomas Webb in 1866, and they lived on Hood's Canal until 1908, when they removed to Tacoma. He died in 1910.

Sargent, Elijah Nelson—Born in Indiana Dec. 8th, 1827; died at his home near Rochester, Thurston County, Aug. 24th. He came to California in 1849, and in 1850 to Washington, taking a donation land claim at Grand Mound, where he had his home for sixty-four years. He was a member of the unfortunate gold mining expedition to Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852, their schooner being wrecked and the white men all held by the Indians for ransom. The Sargent family was a noted one, the father, three sons and two daughters—E. N. Sargent, Francis Marion, Wilson, Mrs. Matilda Saylor and Mrs. Rebecca Kellett.

Monohon, Martin—Born in Madison County, Ohio, Oct. 26th, 1820; died at Seattle Sept. 8th, aged 94 years. He moved on to Indiana in 1821, to Iowa in 1844, to Oregon in 1853, and to Washington in 1871. He never went to school, but learned to read and write after attaining maturity. He was a talker, and strong of mind and will. In 1861 he was elected to the Oregon Legislature. He was twice married, in 1841 and 1851, and he had two daughters and three sons.

Maddocks, Henry C.—Born in Herman, Maine, in 1830; died at Seattle Sept. 13th. He came to San Francisco in 1851, and to Washington in 1880. He was a contractor and builder.

Davids, Thomas J.—Born in New York Aug. 30, 1834; died near Oregon City, Sept. 26th. He came to Washington in 1850, and lived in the southwestern part of the state almost sixty years.

Vanderpool, James—Born in Missouri in 1835; died in Linn County, Oregon, Sept. 27th. He was an Oregon immigrant of 1846. While he lived most of the years in Oregon, he had dwelt parts of the time at Port Townsend and Walla Walla.

Taylor, Harriet E.—Born in Massachusetts in 1833; died at Seattle Oct. 11th. She and her husband, William H. Taylor, came to California in 1859, and to Washington in 1861. They lived at Port Townsend, Freeport, Kalama, Olympia and Seattle during the remainder of their lives. He was in the customs service, the lumber and coal trades, railroad and steamboat traffic and insurance business. She was of kind disposition, helpful to her friends and neighbors in the church, in society and in private life. Being a widow and without children, Mrs. Taylor left a considerable estate to helpless children, needy friends and other worthy individuals.

Parker, Isaac—Born at Waltham, Massachusetts, March 4, 1829; died in Seattle Oct. 13th. He came to California in 1851, and to Washington in 1853. His first occupation was as a machinist in putting up a sawmill at Appletree Cove for San Francisco capitalists. It was no more than completed before it was found to be in the wrong place. It was taken down and again set up at Port Madison, where it passed into the ownership of George A. Meigs. Parker went with it, and stayed by it a long term of years. He knew Chief Seattle quite well, their places being so close that the chief's home was then known as the Port Madison reservation. Mr. Parker invested his spare money in Seattle, where he later made his home, at one time was city treasurer, erected two brick buildings, and otherwise did what he could. A wife and two sons were left.

Jamieson, Winfield Scott—Born in Maine August 5th, 1833; died at Port Gamble Oct. 29th. He came to California in 1854, and on to Washington the same year. He entered the Puget Sound lumber business, and at that was chiefly occupied the remainder of his days. For a couple of years he was in the British Columbia gold mines. He left a wife, two sons and two daughters.

Karr, James A.—Born in Indiana in 1834; died at North Yakima Nov. 5th. He came to California in 1855, and to Washington in 1858. In 1862 he settled on Gray's Harbor before any town was there begun, and there he remained forty-two years, when he and his family removed to Yakima. His wife was the daughter of Ekanah Walker, one of the missionaries at Spokane in 1838, where she was born. Mrs. Karr is said to be the oldest native born white person living in the State. Their daughter, Mrs. Ruth Karr McKee, is now President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Besides his wife, Mr. Karr left five daughters and three sons.

Harris, George W.—Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1848; died in Seattle Nov. 6th, aged 67 years. His father died when he and his younger brother were small boys. The mother came to Seattle in 1859, where she soon after married Charles Plummer, he being a prominent citizen dating back to 1853, a merchant, wharf owner, town builder and public-spirited man. The boy, George, went to the town schools, including the first in connection with the University. His stepfather at one time took him into partnership in the store. Mr. Harris served the Port Ludlow Mill Company as bookkeeper for ten years. Upon his return to Seattle he became agent for Wells, Fargo & Co., and at the same time entered the banking business as George W. Harris & Co. In 1883 he and others organized and started the First National Bank. With John Leary he owned the Post, one of the two newspapers of the town. It was consolidated with the Intelligencer, the result being the Post-Intelligencer, of which for two years he was a one-quarter owner. He was a quiet, unobtrusive, retiring man and in his later years was not much seen or known. A wife and two daughters survive him.

Winchester, Frances E.—Died in Seattle Nov. 20th. He came to California in 1852, and ten years later to Walla Walla, Washington Territory, where he is said to have opened the first photograph gallery. His surviving descendants were two sons.

Rhoades, Mrs. F. M.—Died at Santa Cruz, California, Nov. 25th. With her parents, named Mounts, she came to Washington Territory nearly sixty years ago. Mr. Rhoades was Indian agent at Chehalis, and also

Territorial legislator. They were farmers in Thurston County. She was 77 years of age.

Rowland, Susan.—Died at Roy Dec. 3d, aged 95 years. She was born in Canada, and was married to William Rowland. She came to Oregon in 1853, and later to Washington.

Thompson, Edward H.—Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1827, died at Fall City, King County, Dec. 2d, aged 87 years. In 1848 he came to the Pacific Coast. After a long residence in Washington Territory he went to Illinois, lived for a number of years, married, and in 1882 returned to Washington. Two daughters survive him.

Burr, Martha R.—Born at Wiscasset, Maine, March 29th, 1840, died at Seattle Dec. 8th, aged 75 years. In 1850 she came to the Columbia river by ship, where her father, Capt. Nathaniel Crosby, was engaged in trade in partnership with his brother, Capt. Clawick Crosby. In 1851 Martha married Capt. Samuel C. Woodruff, and for several years lived at Hongkong. He died, and she and her two children came to Olympia, where in 1865 she married Andrew J. Burr. He died in 1890. The last seventeen years she made her home in Seattle. She left five children.

Guild, Emily M.—Born in Washington County, Oregon, in 1854, died at Woodland, Clark County, Dec. 11th. Her maiden name was Larue. In 1871 she married Berick C. Guild, and in 1882 they removed to Woodland, where they lived the thirty-two following years. A mother, a sister, three brothers, a husband, five children and numerous grand children and other relatives were left.

Martin, Harvey A.—Born in Danville, Illinois, Dec. 18th, 1840, died in Kelso Dec. 8th, aged 74 years. He came to the Territory when a boy. In 1856 he joined Capt. Hamilton J. G. Maxon's Company of Mounted Volunteers. At Vancouver to fight the Indians, serving from Feb. 13th until the company was disbanded in April, though at the time he was but 15 years of age.

Page, Thomas Percival.—Born in Galway County, Ireland, in 1832, died at Kent Dec. 11th, aged 82 years. He came to Washington Territory in 1853, and during most of the years since he was a resident of Walla Walla, where he served the people as Commissioner, Auditor, Postmaster and Legislator. In 1877 he raised a company of volunteers to fight the Indians in the Bannock war. A widow and six children survive him.

Bernier, Peter.—Born in Lewis County, Washington, in 1848, died at his home in the same county, Dec. 18th. He was a relative of Marcel

Isadore Bernier, who was born at Spokane Nov. 10th, 1819, and who died in Lewis County Dec. 27th, 1889—the first white child born in either Oregon, Washington or Idaho. The Bernier family were among the first white people to come here to live, being connected with the fur traders of a century ago. In 1830 the family went back to Eastern Canada, but in 1841 returned and located on Newaukum Prairie about half way between Puget Sound and Columbia river, where has ever since been the family home.

Hathaway, Elizabeth Electa.—Born in Ohio May 7, 1827, died at Vancouver Dec. 20th, aged 87 years. She and J. S. Hathaway were married in 1846, and came to Washington in 1852, spending the remainder of their lives at Vancouver.

Sackman, Elizabeth Ware.—Born in Philadelphia Feb. 28th, 1834, died at Seattle Dec. 21st, aged 81 years. Her father, named Sylvia, died when she was small, and her mother, Sarah M., subsequently married Capt. William Renton. In 1847 he took his family to Ireland, his ship being loaded with foods for the famine stricken people there given by the charitable men and women of the United States. In 1849 he sailed for California, again accompanied by the family. He had the machinery of a saw mill in his vessel, which he brought to Puget Sound in 1853, and left in working motion at Alki Point. In 1854 he moved it to Port Orchard, where after some years he sold it to Colman & Glidden, and put up a new mill at Port Blakeley. The family came to Puget Sound in 1858. Here the daughter, Elizabeth W., spent most of her remaining days, being twice married—to Joseph W. Phillips and Daniel J. Sackman. In 1889, then a widow, she removed to Seattle, and interested herself in the religious, charitable, fraternal and social life of the city. She left two children, seven grand children and other relatives.

Slocum, Laura.—Born Jan 1st, 1838, died at Long Beach, California, Dec. 24th, aged 76 years. With her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Riggs, she came from Iowa in 1852. The following nine years they lived at Washougal. In 1861 she moved to Vancouver, which was her home the following fifty-three years. Her husband was Charles W. Slocum, deceased.

Morris, Moses.—Born in 1829, died in Seattle Dec. 24th, aged 85 years. He came to California in 1851, and to Washington Territory in 1854. He lived forty-four years at Tolt. The last year he was with his daughter in Seattle. He was buried at Snohomish.

Thompson, Susannah.—Born in 1840, died at Fern Hill, Pierce County, Dec. 27th, aged 74 years. She was the daughter of William

M. Kincaid, pioneers of 1853. She married Levant Frederick Thompson, a leading citizen during his long life in that county, where he built the Segwaletchew Sawmill sixty years ago, was a general farmer and extensive hop grower, a member of the first Legislature of Washington Territory, in 1854, and also member of the first Legislature of the State of Washington, in 1889-1890. Mrs. Thompson lived sixty-one years in Pierce County. She was the mother of four children.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

In the State of Washington there are a number of organizations devoted to the interests of history. The Washington Historical Quarterly desires to be as helpful as possible to all of these organizations. In the spirit of helpfulness it has been decided to run in the first number of each year a survey of the work being done by the various societies together with compiled lists of the officers and their addresses. Such a list would prove helpful to those seeking information of historical material in the several localities, and it is hoped that the regular publication of the list, together with information regarding the activities of the organizations will prove helpful to the socities themselves. The information gathered for this first compilation may be at fault on account of the difficulty in reaping over so large a field, but it is hoped that if any of the information is found to be faulty that the attention of the Quarterly will be called to the same.

The following is a list of the societies about which the Quarterly has been able to get knowledge:

THE PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON: Founded October 23, 1883, at Olympia. The headquarters are at Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Samuel L. Crawford, president; Edgar Bryan, secretary; W. M. Calhoun, treasurer. This society is the most noted pioneer association in the State. The original membership requirements were residence in the Territory prior to 1862; later they were changed to residence prior to 1870; at present a person to become a member must have lived in the Territory forty years prior to date of application for membership. All told, the Association has had a membership of over 1200; the present list totals over 800.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: This society was founded October 8, 1891. Headquarters of the society are at Tacoma. The officers for 1914 were Henry Hewitt, Jr., president; W. L. Gilstrap, secretary; W. P. Bonney, acting secretary since the death of Mr. Gilstrap; W. H. Dickson, treasurer. The object of the society is "to collect, formulate and preserve in permanent form, the traditional record and object history of Washington." For two years the society published the Washington Historical Magazine. Any citizen of the State may become a member.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Founded at Seattle, January 1, 1903. The headquarters are at the State University, Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Clarence B. Bagley, president; Edmond S. Meany, secretary; Roger S. Greene, treasurer. Since October, 1906, the society has published the Washington Historical Quarterly. Any person may become a member.

NATIVE DAUGHTERS OF WASHINGTON: The headquarters of this society are at Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Nellie Russell, president; Julia N. Harris, vice-president; other officers not known. Any native daughter over sixteen may become a member.

DAUGHTERS OF WASHINGTON PIONEERS: The headquarters are in Seattle but the officers were not ascertained.

NATIVE SONS OF WASHINGTON: This is a State organization but the number of camps are unknown to the Quarterly at present. Alki Camp, No. 2, located at Seattle have the following officers: Arthur R. Griffin, captain; T. C. Naylor, financial secretary and treasurer; F. L. Conners, historian.

WOMEN'S PIONEER AUXILIARY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTONS: The headquarters of this society are at Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Mrs. J. W. Denny, president; Mrs. H. O. Hollenbeck, secretary; Mrs. D. T. Davies, treasurer. The society hold four meetings a year. Membership is restricted to women who have resided in the State prior to 1889, or the year of statehood.

ADAMS COUNTY: See Lincoln County.

BENTON COUNTY: Old Settlers' Union—The headquarters of this society are at Prosser. The officers for 1914 were: G. W. Wilgus, president; A. G. McNeill, vice-president; M. Henry, secretary. The society has an annual meeting. Membership requirements are twenty years residence in the County.

CHEHALIS COUNTY: Pioneer Association of Chehalis County.—The headquarters of the association are at Aberdeen. The Quarterly was unable to get the full quota of officers; J. E. Calder is secretary. The association collects and preserves local historical documents. Membership is restricted to those having residence in the county prior to January 1, 1885.

Aberdeen Pioneer Association.—The headquarters are at Aberdeen. The officers for 1914 were: Mrs. Ross Pickney, president; J. B. Haynes, vice-president; Mrs. William Irvine, secretary; Mrs. J. G. Lewis, treasurer; Reverend Charles McDermoth, historian. There are three meetings of the association, the annual meeting occuring in January. Local

historical documents are collected and deposited with the historian. Membership requirements are residence in Aberdeen prior to the date of the incorporation of Aberdeen, March 20, 1888.

KING COUNTY: Seattle History Society.—The headquarters are in Seattle. The officers for 1914 were: Mrs. Morgan J. Carkeek, president; Mrs. William Pitt Trimble, vice-president; Mrs. Redick H. McKee, secretary; Mrs. W. F. Prosser, treasurer; Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch, historian.

KITSAP COUNTY: Kitsap County Pioneers' Association.—Organized at the Kitsap County Fair, October 10, 1914. Headquarters are at Charleston. The officers for 1914 were: W. B. Seymore, president; Lillie L. Crawford, secretary; G. E. Miller, treasurer. The Associattion has an annual meeting. Membership is restricted to those having a residence in the county prior to 1893.

LINCOLN: Lincoln and Adams County Pioneer and Historical Association.—The headquarters are at Davenport and the annual fair and meeting is held on the Association's splendid grounds on Crab Creek. The officers for 1914 were: W. H. Vent, president; C. E. Ivy, secretary-treasurer; C. W. Bethel, historian. The annual three days' meeting begins with the third Tuesday in June.

OKANOGAN COUNTY: Okanogan County Pioneers' Association.—The Quarterly was unable to get in touch with this Association although it was known from various sources that the society has been in existence for several years.

PIERCE COUNTY: Pierce County Pioneers' Association.—Headquarters are in Tacoma. The officers for 1914 were: Charles Boatman, president; W. O. Peterson, secretary; Mrs. Addie Hill, treasurer. Meetings are held in January, April, July and October. The society has erected monuments on historic sites. Local historical documents are deposited in the State Historical Building. Membership is restricted to those who have resided on the Pacific Coast prior to 1870.

SNOHOMISH COUNTY: Stillaguamish Association of Washington Pioneers.—The headquarters are at Arlington. The officers of 1914 were: W. F. Oliver president; M. M. McCaulley, secretary. The annual meeting occurs in August.

SPOKANE COUNTY: Spokane County Pioneer Society.—The headquarters are at Spokane. The officers for 1914 were Billy Seehorn, president; R. A. Hutchinson, vice-president; Mary C. Mackey, secretary; Dr. E. Pittwood, treasurer. There are four meetings a year including

the annual outing. Membership is open to those who have resided in Spokane County on or before November 29, 1884.

STEVENS COUNTY: Stevens County Pioneer Association.—The headquarters are at Colville. The officers for 1914 were B. F. Goodman, president; John B. Slater, secretary; W. L. Sax, treasurer. The annual meeting is on June 30, of each year. Membership restricted to residents of the State prior to June, 1895.

THURSTON COUNTY: Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County.—The headquarters are at Olympia. The officers for 1914 were Michel Harris, president; George N. Talcot, 1st vice-president; Fred W. Stocking, 2d vice-president; Allen Weir, secretary and curator; Mrs. G. M. Blankenship, treasurer. There is an annual gathering at Priest's Point, Olympia, in summer; also a meeting in March. The society gathers local historical documents which are preserved with the curator. Membership is restricted to those having been residents of the county prior to 1870.

Old Settlers Association.—Headquarters are at Rochester. The officers for 1914 were Mrs. R. M. Van Eaton, Mrs. Nels Sargeant, J. R. James.

WALLA WALLA COUNTY: Inland Empire Pioneer Association.—The headquarters are at Walla Walla. The officers for 1914 were Ben Burgunder, president; Martin Evans, secretary; Levi Ankeny, treasurer; W. D. Lyman, historian. The society has an annual meeting. Membership qualifications: residence in the Inland Empire or on Pacific Coast prior to 1885.

WHATCOM COUNTY: Old Settlers' Association of Whatcom County.—The postoffice address of this society is at Bellingham; the headquarters are located at Pioneer Park, Ferndale. The officers for 1914 were J. B. Wilson, president; T. B. Wynn, vice-president; Fred E. Prouty, secretary; H. E. Campbell, treasurer. The annual gathering, election of officers, etc., is in August at the headquarters at Pioneer Park, Ferndale. Membership is granted to those who have resided in Whatcom County for ten years.

WHITMAN COUNTY: Whiaman County Pioneers' Association.—The headquarters are at Rosalia. The officers for 1914 were M. H. West, president; M. W. Merritt, vice-president; B. F. Manring, secretary. The annual meeting is in June. Membership confined to those residing in the State prior to October, 1882.

YAKIMA COUNTY: Yakima Pioneers' Association.—The headquarters are at North Yakima. The officers for 1914 were Ella S. Hagel,

president; James A. Beck, vice-president; Mrs. Zona H. Cameron, treasurer; John H. Lynch, secretary. The regular meeting is held on the second Saturday of December. Steps are being taken to preserve local historical documents. Membership is restricted to all citizens of white or Indian blood who were residents of the original county of Yakima, prior to November 9, 1889, and their descendents.

Yakima Columbian Association.—This society has for its principal object the preservation of the old St. Joseph's mission in Yakima County.

VICTOR J. FARRAR.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK; JULY 5-SEPTEMBER 15, 1826

(Introduction and annotations by T. C. Elliott.)

This is a chronological resumption of the journal published in the last number of this Quarterly and which stopped abruptly just before Mr. Work arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 12th of June, 1826. The "brigade" now returns up the Columbia and the initial entry in the journal tells us very clearly what the word "brigade" as used by the fur traders actually meant. The various chief factors, chief traders and clerks have spent a very enjoyable three weeks together at the original Fort Vancouver, situated on the higher land northeast of the later stockade and buildings which were known to the pioneers of Oregon. This second Fort was built in 1828.

It is rather an interesting company of which Mr. Work becomes the chronicler. William Connolly is bound for Fort St. James on Lake Stuart in the northern interior of what is now British Columbia, but was then called New Caledonia; he is already a chief factor and is in charge of that District. It was over the rich estate left by Mr. Connolly after his death that a certain famous contest took place in the courts of Montreal or Quebec which established finally the legal status of the common law marriage of the fur traders with native Indians when residing in the Indian Country. James Douglas, clerk, who married a daughter of William Connolly and afterward became a chief factor at this same Fort Vancouver and still later the governor of Vancouver Island, was also en route for Fort St. James. Archibald MacDonald, clerk, had probably been upon a brief visit to his son Ronald, then a little more than two years of age and in the care of the grandfather, Chief Comcomly of the Chinook tribe residing opposite to Astoria or Fort George, and was returning to either Kamloops or Alexandria. Mr. F. Annance, another clerk, was also bound for one of the New Calendonia posts. Doctor McLoughlin and Thos. McKay were sending their children across the Rocky Mountains to be educated. Finan MacDonald's Kootenay or Spokane wife was starting to meet her husband further up the river and with him to cross the Rocky Mountains for permanent residence.

The route followed by Mr. Work takes him over practically the same line of travel he covered in the previous year and described by him in the Journal published in Vol. V. of this Quarterly, except that his destination was the newly occupied trading post above Kettle Falls named

Fort Colvile. The route includes The Dalles, Old Fort Walla Walla, the site of Lewiston in Idaho and of the present city of Spokane. At Celilo Falls the botanist, David Douglas, joins the party for the rest of the journey.

This journal furnishes the record of the first grain crops raised in what is now Stevens County, Washington, and of the first litter of pigs born there. No opportunity has been afforded to compare this text with the original journal, which is among the archives at Victoria, British Columbia.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

THE JOURNAL

July 1826

Tuesday, July 5th, 1826.*

Overcast, showery weather.

At about 1 o'clock the Brigade for the interior under the command of Mr. Connelly, consisting of 9 boats six men pr boat, left Fort Vancouver. Messrs A. McDonald, J. Douglas, F. Annance, J. Cortin and J. Work passengers, also their women, and 9 children, viz.—Dr. McLaughlin's family, Mr. F. McDonald's family, and 2 children of Mr. McKay. The cargoes consist of 72 pieces for Ft. Colville, 52 for Thompson's Riv, 60 for Nez Perce, 106 for N. Caledonia, and 1 for York Factory, including private orders. Besides 57 pieces of provisions, 36 of corn, 9 of pease, 9 Ind meal, 3 of grease, for the men, and 12½ pieces for the gentlemen for the voyage. Besides the families' baggage and 4 cases muskets and a trading chest. In the evening encamped on an island[1] a little below Sand River. The water is very high and the current very strong. Mr. McDonald's boat struck against the end of a tree which went through fortunately the injury was at low water.

Wednesday, 6th.

Showery, raw cold weather.

Resumed our journey at daylight, and encamped a little below the cascades. Lost a little time repairing the boat that was broken yesterday. Bought a sufficiency of salmon in the evening to serve all (hands) for a day.

[1]Probably Lady's Island below Washougal; called Diamond Island by Lewis and Clark.

*An evident error, as July 5 fell on Wednesday in 1826. This was overcome by Mr. Work later by giving two days to July 12.—E. S. M.

Thursday, 7th.

Overcast weather some showers.

The people were at work at an early hour and proceeded to New Portage[2] with half cargo and (sent) the canoe back for the remainder. The boats and cargoes were carried across the portage and the boats with half cargoes taken to the cascades where we encamped four of the gentlemen stoped with the remainder of the property at the portage. Notwithstanding the height of the water we got up better than we expected.— Bought a sufficiency of fine salmon to serve the people two days, and very cheap. The Indians are taking a great many salmon. A good many Indians are about the place, but they are very quiet. Kept watch.

Friday, 8

Showery in the morning.

In the morning the boats were taken down to New Portage for the remainder of the cargoes and the boats and property afterwards carried across the cascades portage[3] which we left towards evening with a sail wind which continued till we encamped. Some time was occupied in the morning gumming the boats. The portage at the cascades was not so long as when the water was low. Traded enough of fine salmon to serve the people two days. We have enough now to last us till we reach the Dalles.

One of Mr. McDonald's men, J. Cortin, got his feet lamed by which he is hardly able to walk. An Indian slave was employed to go in the boat.

Saturday 9

Fair weather.

Continued our journey at an early hour, and encamped a little below the Dalles[4] early in the evening. Had a fine sail wind all day, were detained some time repairing Mr. McDonald's boat which sustained damage by striking a stone. Some Indians visited our camp in the evening.

Sunday 10

Fair pleasant weather.

Got underway before sunrise and soon reached the Dalles, and by carrying, lightening and dragging up the boats by the line, got about half way across,[5] where we encamped for the night. There are a great

[2]Probably means that at this high stage of the water they followed a channel behind Hamilton or Strawberry Island and carried goods and canoes across the island to avoid the Garrison Rapids.

[3]The regular portage beginning just below Sheridan's Point and ending at the cove or bend above the Cascades; practically where the railroad is built today.

[4]Probably where the City of The Dalles now stands.

many Indians but a square is formed with the boats round the property. Traded a great many salmon in the evening very cheap.

In the evening Messrs. F. McDonald T, McKy, T. Dears arrived at the other end of the portage with two boats and 18 men and part of the Snake expedition furs from Wallawalla, on the way to Ft. Vancouver, Mr. Ogden[6] and part of the men are gone by the Willamut mountains with horses. The Snake returns will be but indifferent. Mr D. Douglas[7] also came with the party to meet us.

Monday, July 11

Pleasant weather.

The boats and property were carried across the portage in the morning (when we) took breakfast—and the chutes[8] which we also crossed, having to make only a short portage on account of the high water and proceeded to the little river[9] above the chutes where we encamped for the night. The Snake party also proceeded on to Fort Vancouver. Messrs Douglas and F. McDonald return with us. J. Contin who got hurt at the cascades was sent back to the Fort.—Some time was taken repairing the boats in the evening. A dog, with a pistol and an axe and some other things were stole yesterday, the pistol and the axe were recovered. There are several Indians about the Dales and about the chutes. I wrote to Mr McLaughlin requesting that he would send one of the Snake men Michel Laporte, to Spokane to act as interpreter for the Kootanies.

Tuesday 12

Warm sultry weather.

Continued our route before sunrise and encamped early in the evening about 15 miles above Day's River[10] to gum the boats The current is very strong and there being no wind we made but a short days march. There are a good many Indians along the river, but owing to the height of the water they are not getting any salmon. Bought about 20 at one camp.

The water has fallen about 4 feet since it was at its height. The water appears from drift trees on the shore, to have been much higher some years (ago) than they are.

[5]This portage was on the Oregon side from Big Eddy to the head of Ten Mile Rapids, nearly six miles. Here stood the village of Wishram of which Washington Irving wrote in his "Astoria."

[6]Consult page 364 of Vol. 10 of the Oregon Historical Quarterly as to this. Peter Skene Ogden, with Finan McDonald, Thos. McKay and Thos. Dears, had been trapping and trading in Southern Idaho.

[7]David Douglas, the botanist. Consult his own account at page 356 of Vol. V of the Oregon Historical Quarterly.

[8]Celilo Falls.

[9]The Deschutes river.

[10]John Day river in Oregon.

Wed.y. 12th

Fine weather, fresh breeze from the Westward.

Embarked before sunrise and had a nice sail wind all day. Encamped in the evening a little below Big Island.[11]—A good many Indians along the river, but not many salmon.

Thursday 13

Sultry warm weather.—

Continued our journey early and had a sail wind part of the day. Encamped in the evening a little above Grand Rapid.[12]—Bought a few salmon, to serve the gentlemen. Few are to be got.

Friday 14

Embarked early and arrived at Ft. Nezperces[13] about 1 o'clock. Sail wind part of the day. The weather very warm. The cargoes are separated, and that of Nezperces delivered.

Satd.y. 15

The weather very warm, though stormy.

It was expected that a number of horses that are required could be procured from the Indians at Nezperces, but after different councils, and consultations and speeches on both sides it turned out that a promise had been made to the Nezperces Indians to go and trade on their lands which if not fulfilled would disoblige them and make them less inclined to trade,

Sunday 16th

Stormy but warm weather.

The forepart of the day occupied with more councils and making presents to the Indians as return for some horses which they had presented before. 7 or 8 horses were afterwards traded,—It appeared however that the number required could not be got in time, and the trading trip up Nezperces River was determined on.

(Learned) that the F. Head trade would not suffer but as little as possible by the late arrival of the boats at Colville, Mr. Kittson[14] with the Colville and Mountain boats is to proceed at once to Colville while I am to accompany the trading party and after completing the trade to accompany the party across land and proceed to Colville where I expect to arrive as soon as the boats. By this method no time will be lost whereas

11Blalock Island, also known as Long Island to the fur traders; this camp probably at "Canoe Encampment Rapids," so known to this day.

12Umatilla Rapids.

13Fort Walla Walla, at mouth of river of same name.

14William Kittson, who came to the Columbia district in 1818 and died at Fort Vancouver during the early forties. His brother was Norman Kittson, the millionaire of St. Paul, Minn., and financial associate of J. J. Hill.

had all the Colville men gone to the horse trade the Flat Head summer trade would have been lost as it is it will be too late but it cannot be helped.

Monday 17

Stormy in the night and blowing fresh during the day but nevertheless warm.

The outfit for the horse trade was packed up in the morning and about 3 o'clock in the afternoon the party consisting of Mr A. McDonald, J. Douglas, F, Annance and myself, an interpreter and 28 men and the Indian chief Charlie embarked in two boats and proceeded till a short way up the Nezperces River[15] where we encamped for the night. Bought two or three pieces of salmon from the Indians.—I am directed if possifor Ft. Colville, the others to go to Okanogan. Mr. D. Douglas[16] accomble to purchase at least 60-70 horses, more if possible, 20 of them are panies us to make collections of plants.

Tuesday 18

Weather warm but fine breezes.

Continued our journey before sunrise, and had a good sail wind all day. Camped at night a considerable distance below Flag River.[17] The current very strong and the water high, though it has fallen about 8 feet since its greatest height this season. Several Indian lodges along the river brought a few pieces of fish and half dry salmon. Salmon are very dear here. The Indians have few to spare.

Wedy 19th

Very warm sultry weather no wind.

Embarked early, passed the Flag River about 3 o'clock and encamped late in the evening a good way above it.—Got very few salmon though we saw a good many Indians, Salmon is very scarce, Traded a small sturgeon.—were detained some time by the Indians offering horses for sale but they would not accept the prices offered, A party of them accompany us on horse back along shore.

Thursday 20

Clear very warm weather very little wind.

Proceeded on our journey early in the morning and encamped early in the evening at a camp of the Pelushes, Colatouche chief, in expectation of buying some horses, two were offered for sale, but the prices asked were far too high indeed the Indians appear not to be very fond of parting with

[15]Snake River.

[16]For Mr. Douglas' own account of this journey consult pages 357-61 of Vol. 5 of the Oregon Historical Quarterly.

[17]The Palouse River; known to the traders also as Pavion River.

them.—Salmon are also very (dear) we got a few pieces of dry and half dry. Since we left the Fort we have not got in one day a sufficiency for a day's rations for the people. however what little we do get still saves a little corn.

Friday 21.

Very warm sultry weather

At noon the thermometer in the shade was 94°, and 95° shortly afterwards.

We were detained waiting for the Indians who were seeking some horses to trade, but when they arrived with them, only one small paltry thing was offered and the price demanded could not be given, so after losing all our morning we continued our route not in the best humor, Passed several lodges and purchased a sufficiency of fresh salmon for nearly a days (living) for the people, besides some dry ones to serve the party going overland with the horses.—Encamped in the evening a little above Le Monte[18], (which we passed about 4 oclock,) at an Indian camp where some horses (we) expected will be got, but we will probably be detained part of the day tomorrow.—Numbers of the Indians some of whom refused the prices offered them below are accompanying us along shore with their horses.—

Satd.y. 22

Light clouds, very warm, though a little breeze of wind.

Did not move camp today, They were off in the forepart of the day collecting their horses, but they would not trade till the afternoon, when 8 horses were purchased from them at from 14 to 19 skins each They were all young horses two of them just * but not well broke in. They are to trade three more horses tomorrow morning. Traded 13 fresh salmon which made* a days rations for the people.—The tardiness of the Indians trading their horses is really vexing, they are not keen about trading.

Sunday 23

Oppressively warm weather. Thermometer 100° in the shade at noon.

We were detained till near evening for the Indians who were off seeking their horses, when they returned they were traded, and we struck our tents and proceeded up the river, and stoped at anoth lodge for a considerable time and traded a good horse, another was offered but he was too small and we would not take him. We then continued up the river and encamped at another lodge where the Indians promise to sell us some horses tomorrow.—The Indians seem very indifferent about trading their

[18]Almota, Whitman County, Washington; an Indian crossing place; see note on page 89 of Vol. V. of this Quarterly.

horses, it is really provoking to be detained so long with them.—especially when so little time is to spare.—We have now 12 horses 8 yesterday and 4 today, 11 of which we traded from the Dartry band.

Monday 24

Sultry warm weather.

Did not move untill afternoon as we waited till the Indians collected their horses when we bought four one of which a small unbroke in one was killed.—In the evening proceeded up the river to another Indian camp and stopped for the night as some horses are expected in the morning.—

Tuesday 25.

A breeze of wind the weather cooler than these days past. Bought two horses from the Indians in the morning and started after breakfast and stopped at different lodges as we passed and bought four more horses, making 6 today, all pretty good at 18 to 19 skins each. The Indians have a good many horses but they are not eager to part with them.—Salmon very scarce, we hardly get what fresh ones serve the mess.

Wedy 26

Weather pleasant.

Continued our rout after breakfast, and arrived at Charlie's lodge a little before the forks in the evening. Traded two horses during the day.—

Thursday 27

A little breeze of wind pleasant weather.—

Traded 8 horses at Charlies lodge and in the evening came to the Forks[19] where we found upwards of 200 Indians (men), and two principal chiefs Alunn and Towishpal, Gave the chiefs and some of the principal men a dram of mixed liquor and a smok in the hut the others got a smok and a little tobacco out of doors, Towishpal and another principal man cut noses both presented two horses immediately on our arrival.—We are under the necessity of accepting their presents in order to please the chiefs though we have to give a present in return which makes the horses much dearer in general than were we to trade them.—The Indians have been assembled for some days and are now rather short of provisions.

Friday 28

Warm weather, a little wind afterward.

No trade was made untill after breakfast, when the Indians began to come with horses and some chiefs presented more horses which were paid for at a dearer rate than usual in order to encourage the others, a

[19]Junction of Snake and Clearwater rivers; their camp probably on north side of Clearwater opposite present site of Lewiston, Idaho.

brisk trade was commenced about 10 oclock and continued untill 4 oclock. 37 horses were traded one of which was killed. The price was generally 19 or 20 skins few exceeding 20. They were mostly fine horses. Our blankets and beads are getting short, which was the cause of the trade getting slack towards evening. Blue cloth does not take well with them.

Saturday 29

Pretty cool pleasant weather a shower in the night.

Not having the proper articles blankets and beads in plenty the trade went on but slowly, only six horses were traded, the Indians are doubtless debarred from trading a little by a dance which is stirred up by a Schulas[20] chief who arrived yesterday with (?). However we are promised a few horses tomorrow, when we shall complete our trade and be ready to start the day following.—

Sunday 30

Warm weather rather sultry.

Early this morning a quarrel took place between the Interpreter and the Indian chief Charlie. It appears that an Indian woman who passed for a medical character, had been looking at one of the mens hands which was sore and although she exercised none of her skill either in the application or otherwise yet she came to demand payment and applied to the Interpreter who refused her. Charlie interfered when some words took place and the Interpreter was called a dog, he applied the same epithet to Charlie who took up his gun and gave gave the other a blow, a scuffle ensued, and the noise was the first intelligence I had of the affray, when I ran out and found them wrestling in the other tent and the Indian getting the better, they were separated and the Indian again flew to his gun which was taken from him several Indians had collected by this time, Charlie was now asked was this conduct a return for all the kindness and attention that had been shown him, he replied that he had been called a dog, and that he could not bear the insult, he remained sulky and took up another gun which was also taken from him, an Indian then took him away, Shortly a message came for a yard of tobacco for the Indians to smok and that their hearts would be good. Shortly after another message came for 2 fathoms more and 20 balls and powder, this was refused and word sent to the chief that we wished to have an interview with them Toupe came, but Charlie came accompanied by the whole of the Indians several of them armed and took his station a short distance from the tent where they formed a circle round us. He was black with rage. We immediately went up to him and asked what he meant,

20Cayuse?

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and was he not ashamed to begin a quarrel in such a manner about an old woman. After some time sulky silence he replied that his heart was bad towards nobody but Toupie, and that he blamed him for not getting a better price for their horses, he was immediately informed that the accusation was false, that Toupe did nothing but what we desired him, they were also made to understand that, it was to trade horses and not to fight that we came there, but that if no better would do we would fight also and that as Toupe was under our protection and in fact one of ourselves any insult offered him would be offered to us and would be resented.—A demand was again made for the tobacco and that then all would be well and that the horse trade would immediately commence. As we were situated, with very little ammunition, ourselves on one side of the river and the horses with part of the men on the opposite side, two of the horses astray among those of the Indians, and two others already paid for not received, and also the great risk we ran of having the others stolen, it was considered advisable to comply with their request except the ammunition, rather than get into a quarrel as we had much to lose and little to gain, The tobacco was accordingly delivered the whole of the Indians smoked and then dispersed.—Charlie is certainly a notorious scoundrel and I consider the original of this quarrel as only a pretext. He sold a horse yesterday and was paid the price agreed upon, but he afterwards asked a blanket more which was refused, this I conceive was in a great measure the cause of the dispute, and the poor Interpreter was the only one he would venture to begin with, he has however been very useful to us since the trade commenced harranguing the Indians to trade their horses, and ever since the dispute he has been again telling them to trade more.—The other chiefs and principal men except (Touispel) evidently wished to make the most of the affair and get as much as they could by it, Old Alumie and his men are particular. however they were disappointed as they got only 3 yds. tobacco and a few small pieces more besides the yard first sent them, and even this was given with reluctance, but we could not well do otherwise. Traded five more horses which finished our goods, found the two that were astray and received the two we had paid the Indians for and crossed the river to where the horses are in the afternoon—Our whole trade amounts to 79 horses, two of which have been killed.

The Indian chiefs crossed to pay us a visit in the evening, and smoked. They seem to regret what has taken place, Charlie himself is ashamed that he should have quarreled about such a trifle. During the dispute, the Indians were all threatening to take back the horses.—

A few young men arrived in the evening from the buffalo, from

them it was heard that the F Heads are now on their way to meet us to trade. Peace is again made between them and the Peegans.

Monday 31st.

Pleasant cool weather.

Having everything in readiness, the horses that are for the different places pointed out, after an early breakfast Messrs F McDonald, J. Douglas and myself accompanied by six men set out overland with the horses 79 in number including 2 bought a few days ago from W. Walla by Mr F. McDonald, we encamped in the evening a short distance 15 or 20 miles from flag[21] River. Mr. D. Douglas accompanied us on his botanical pursuits.—Mr A. McDonald took his departure for W. Walla with the two boats and the rest of the men at the same time we came of—The Indians and us were good friends when we parted.

Augt. 1826. Tuesday 1st.

Cool pleasant weather. Some rain with thunder and lightening in the night.

Kept a guard three men at a time on the horses all night. The horses took fright in the night and started but they were stopped and remained quiet till the morning, when after allowing them to feed a short time we proceeded on our journey, and stopped again a considerable time at noon to allow them to feed and rest, and encamped in the evening pretty late, near where we encamped last year.—The horses are generally driven slow.

Wid.y. 2nd.

Weather pleasant but warmer than yesterday.

Proceeded on our journey and (?) the Spokane woods before breakfast, but missed our way crossing to the plain where we separated last year and fell on the Spokane River below the Chutes[22] later in the evening where we encamped for the night. The greater part of the day the road was stony and bad for the horses feet, On entering the woods we kept too far to the Eastward and missed the plain, The horses were allowed to feed and rest in the middle of the day.

Thursday 3rd

Pleasant weather.

Continued our route at an early hour and arrived, through a bad piece of road along the river, at the old Fort[23] at Spokane before

[21]Camp probably near Uniontown, Whitman County, Wash.

[22]They reach the Spokane River at mouth of Latah Creek below the Falls.

[23]They followed the south side of Spokane River until opposite the abandoned buildings of Spokane House. Consult note 145, page 279, of Vol. 5 of this Quarterly.

breakfast time, We had separated the horses and took those for Fort Colville across the river and after breakfasting and trading some salmon from old Finlay,[24] Mr. Douglas proceeded on his journey to Okanagan with the 59 horses alotted for that place and N. Caledonia, and we pursued our route with 20 horses for Ft Colville, and encamped at a little river[25] in the woods late in the evening. Had we not missed the way Mr. Douglas would have parted with us yesterday, his coming to Spokane will cause the loss of about half a day however it is perhaps as well as the men know the road from Spokane and are not sure of it the other way. Mr. D. has four men with him.

Friday 4th

Warm but pleasant weather, cold in the morning.

Proceeded on our journey at an early hour and arrived at Ft Colville before sunset, part of the road was very bad, Mr Dease[26] was happy to see us, he and his people all well. One of the horses was jaded and a man was left with him to bring him home in the morning.

Saturday 5

Pleasant mild weather cool in the morning.

Early in the morning the man who remained behind yesterday arrived with the two horses.

The crops[27] at Fort Colville do not appear to realize the expectations that were entertained for them. The potatoes appear pretty well, barley midling, no wheat at all came up and only a few stocks of Indian corn green pease but indifferent. The kitchen garden stuffs turnips cabbages etc only so so. The soil appears to be too dry.—The moles are destroying the potatoes. The horses cattle and pigs very fat, but the grass is getting dry.

Sunday 6th

Pleasant weather.

Visited the, falls,[28] today, where the Indians are fishing. They are now taking about 1000 salmon daily. They have a kind of basket about 10 ft long 3 wide and 4 deep of a square form suspended at a cascade in the fall where the water rushes over a rock. the salmon in attempting to ascend the fall leap into the basket, they appear to leap 10 or 12 feet high. when the basket is full the fish are taken out.—A few are also taken with scoop net and speared.

24Jacques Raphael Finlay, who had built or helped to build this trading post in 1810.

25Probably Chimakime Creek.

26Mr. John Warren Dease, then in charge of Fort Colville.

27A crop of potatoes had been raised here in 1825; this is the record of the first yield of grain on Marcus Flat in Stevens County, Wash.

28Kettle Falls; the method of fishing here described was carried on within the memory of present residents of that locality, with marvelous success.

Monday 7th

Weather as yesterday

Mr. Kittson arrived at the lower end of[29] the Portage with their (three) boats and the outfit for Colville and passengers and their baggage. He has been ten days from Walla Walla to Okanogan and ten from Okanagan to this place in all. 20 days. Horses were sent off and part of the property brought to the fort.

Tuesday 8.

Pleasant mild weather.

The remainder of the boats cargoes brought to the Fort, the outfit examined and found all correct and in good order.

No certain intelligence of the F. Heads as yet, we are now waiting for them, the sooner we hear of them now the better

Wedy 9th

Heavy rain with thunder and lightning in the night and all day.—

Sunday 13.

Three Pendant Oreille Indians arrived from Pendant Oreille River and report that a young man had arrived from the Plain[30] who says that a few of the F Heads have arrived at or near the Chutes, that the others are in the plains farther off accompanied by a party of Americans, that they are indifferent whether we go to trade with them or not, that they have very little to dispose of, having traded with the Americans. As this thing is second hand and the Indians do not agree among themselves little reliance can be placed upon it, particularly as a young man a F. Head, who had left his tribe in the plains some time ago, was at the Fort two days since, and told us that his people were on the way to meet us but made no mention of having seen any Americans.

Monday 14th.

Cloudy mild weather.

Six men and a boy were sent off to make a road across the portage to the Pendant O'relle River[31] through which we had to pass on our way to the Flat Heads.

Made up an outfit for the F Heads and Kootany summer trade for the purpose of starting tomorrow though we are not certain whether the

[29]The trail used by the fur traders at this portage can still be seen; it is on the East bank.

[30]Thompson's Prairie, Montana.

[31]The trail or road for pack horses from Fort Colville across the Calispell Mountains to the Pend d'Oreille river at point near Cusick, Washington. Consult pages 147-8 of Vol. 1 of Simpson's Journey Around the World for a description of this trail. The fur traders had not used it before this time.

Indians are arrived, if they should not we will probably be short of provisions.

Tuesday 15th.

Pleasant mild weather

Supposing that the men did not have the road cut through the woods we deferred starting till tomorrow. Some Indians arrived and told us they had made but slow progress yesterday.

Wedy 16th.

Warm sultry weather

Set out accompanied by Mr. Kittson, and 7 men which with the 6 ahead making the road makes 13, to mak the summer trade at the F. Heads and Kootanies, We have 9 horses loaded with the articles of trade, provisions, gum etc—to repair the canoes.—Mr. Kittson and I with 12 men are to proceed to the F. Heads and make the trade there, and a man is to cross into the Kootenay country to tell them to come and meet us to trade at the Lake[32] on our return.—

Did not make a long days march. encamped in the afternoon at a small river[33] where there was a little place for the horses to feed. The distance made today was about 15 to 20 miles. The course from the fort till we struck off the Spokane road[34] nearly South 8 to ten miles. The remainder of the day it was about S. E. by E 10 to 12 miles. The road was in general good and lay through clear woods and small plains, except a piece near the fort called the Cedar, where the woods are very thicketty and the ground swampy and boggy and a deep gully of a river to cross. There is a small lake[35] close by our encampment.

Thursday 17th

Warm weather.

Proceeded on our journey before sunrise and not finding a place that we could stop, though it was hard on the horses, did not encamp till near sunset, when we stopped at a little river[36] on the edge of a large plain a short way from the Pendant Oreille River. The horses are much fatigued. The road for a short distance in the morning was pretty good, but afterwards it was very indifferent. The woods very thicketty, often fallen trees across the road, (though the men had removed a good many). The country very rugged a continual succession of hills some of them steep, and the road intersected by a number of small brooks and deep

33The Little Pend d'Oreille River.
32Pend d'Oreille Lake.
34The road leading to Spokane House, which crossed the Colville river just above Meyers Falls; this trail continued eastward through present site of city of Colville.
35Probably a pond on section 3, township 34 north, range 40, E. W. M.
36Probably a stream now mapped as Tacoma Creek, which empties into the Pend d'Oreille River.

gullies some places the ground boggy, Though there is not much water in the little brooks at present yet from the height of the rubbish on the bushes along their banks they are totally impassable for horses during the high water not long since. It would be needless to attempt this portage in the spring when the snow is on the ground as it would be impracticable with horses. During this days march even at this season there is no place to encamp where more than a very few horses could feed without the risk of their being lost in the woods.—

The distance made today I judge to be from 40 to 45 miles, in about a S. E. by E. course.

Friday 18

Cold with a thick fog in the morning, but clear pleasant weather afterwards.

Had the horses loaded and started at sunrise, made the ascent of the plain, and arrived at the Pendant Orile camp[37] on the bank of the river near where the canoe sent down in the Spring was deposited. Here we found the men who had been making the road. The remainder of the day was occupied repairing the canoe, as the whole of the people are too much to embark in the canoes 5 men were sent on first to where the other canoes were deposited in the Ceur d Alen portage. Traded 32 beaver, 3 (appichimous) and some berries and roots from the Indians.

This plain is all inundated in the season of high water, where we slept last night the water had been more than 2 feet deep in the high part of the plain and from the bank of the little river at present the water has fallen at least 16 feet. This extensive plain is now clothed with a fine crop of grass.

The Indian who arrived some time ago from the Flat Heads, is now at Spokane, All we can hear from the others is that the old chief Le (Brute) and party of F Heads and Pendant Oreill are waiting us near the Chutes,[38] that the rest of the tribes are in different parties farther off wintering their horses, that they had seen a party of Americans during the summer, said to be loaded with trading goods and that they were going to build in the fall on the upper waters of the Missouri at a place called the Grand (T——) No intelligence as to whether any of the (?) or freeman were with them. It is said that the Indians have been unsuccessful and have few horses and little meat. A fine Sotiax who came from there is off a few days ago to the fort with his (hunt).

[37]Near the mouth of the Calispell river, where the Indians gathered to dig camas.

[38]Thompson Falls, Montana.

Satd.y. 19

Warm pleasant weather

Embarked and proceeded up the River before sunrise and near dark arrived at the (Ceur de Alan) portage.[39] The men who started yesterday are at the portage before us. The current was very slack all day in the afternoon we passed a place called the island portage[40] where everything had to be carried over a small rock 15 or 20 yards. Two rocks divide the river here into 3 narrow channels down which the water rushes with great violence at low water the middle channel is dry.

The distance made today may be about 45 to 50 miles. For the first 25 miles or to near the Portage des Isle, the course South, afterwards it changed to the S. E.

The River is in general about 7 to 900 yds wide from the marks in the bank the water has fallen 10 to 12 feet. The country hilly, but many points of fine meadow ground along them.

Before we started in the morning sent off an Indian (Bascrorhy) who accompanied us for the purpose, and Ribets boy (Francis), to the Fort with the horses. Sent letters by them to the fort.—Left the saddles and (appichimans) in charge of the little chief till our return.

Sunday 20

Light clouds warm weather.

By daylight the men were at work, brought out the canoes and by 1 or 2 o'clock had given them a temporary repair when we embarked and encamped in the evening at the lower end[41] of the lake. The canoes had been very badly laid up in the Spring, one of them was entirely unserviceable and the other two much (?) by the supports giving away. The paddles could not be found.

Monday 21

Weather as yesterday.

Embarked at daylight and encamped in the evening below the Heron Rapid.[42] The canoes had to be gummed, some time was also lost in the day by having to stop to gum one of the canoes. Saw some Indians at the upper end of the lake, among whom were two Nezperces lately arrived from the F. Head camps from these we learned that the F Heads are all at the Horse plains and that a lodge of Americans are with them, that our (?) (?) are there also that the American is trading but

[39]The Sineacateen crossing of mining days, where the trail from Spokane to the Kootenay country and the Clarks Fork country crossed the river; nearly opposite Laclede station of the Great Northern Railroad of today.

[40]Albeni Falls, just above Newport, Wash.

[41]Sandpoint, Idaho.

[42]Heron, Montana; see note 123, page 265, Vol. V., this Quarterly.

that he has only tobacco, The Nezperces camp is a little farther off at the camass plains and that they have a few beaver, they report that the Indians have very little provisions.

In the morning sent Mortin Kanauswapu, the only man who knew the road, across the Auplatte[43] portage with some tobacco to the Kootenay chiefs and to desire them to come and meet us at the lake six days hence to trade. In the event of Mortins' not finding the Indians he is directed to wait for us unless he gets short of provisions in which case he is to leave a mark indicating that the Indians could not be found and that he is gone to the fort,—He is supplied with a gun and ammunition and some little things to buy provisions.—

Tuesday, 22

Cloudy but warm weather.

Embarked at daylight, and encamped in the evening late above the cascades. We were delayed guming the canoes and taking up ball shot and some wire work that were hidden below Isle of Pine in the Spring. The water had been over the place, and one of the bags of ball was found scattered among the sand and gravel. The other bag which was entirely rotten and the box containing the (wire) (?) (?). Got the ball picked up as well as we could, and brought it with us, and hid the wire in another place.

Wedy 23rd

Cloudy lowering weather, showery all day.

Embarked early and arrived at the Chutes[44] near sunset, and had the baggage all arranged and the canoes taken up.—No Indians nor any appearance of any having been here this season.—

Thursday 24

Cold weather with fog in the morning showery afterwards.

Set out in the morning accompanied by two men, Chalifoux and Dechamp to find the Indians and apprise them of our arrival, though we expected to find some encamped at Thompson's plains, we did not see any lodges till nea rthe big rock[45] below the F. Head fort, where we learned that the Indians were encamped at the Horse plains, here I sent back Dechamp and borrowed two horses for Chalifoux and myself and proceeded to the camp where we arrived in the afternoon and found about 50 lodges Heads and Pendant Oreille, and four chiefs, Le Brute, Gras Pied, Grand Visage and Bourge Pendant Oreille, I stopped at Le Brute's lodge, The old man was glad to see me and immediately gave me

[43]The portage from Pend d'Oreille Lake to the Kootenay river at Bonners Ferry.
[44]Thompson Falls, Montana.
[45]Bad Rock, just below Eddy, Montana.

to eat.—The other chiefs and the principal Indians soon assembled and smoked, during which we were employed giving and receiving all the news on both sides. The old chief said he much regretted that this year his people had been unfortunate having been able to procure but a small quantity of provisions and very few furs. That the cause of the scarcity of provisions was owing to the place being full of other Indians who disturb the buffalo. They have had no war except some horse stealing skirmishes in which they killed one Indian and lost one of their own men.—A party of the F. Heads had fallen in with some of the Snake deserters and some Americans, two of the deserters, J. Guy and Jacques accompanied them to some of the camps and Guy presented the two chiefs Gras Pied and Grand Visage with some tobacco and a little scarlet as from the chief of the American party Ashly,[46] whom they said wished to see the Indians, and that he was (then) off for a large quantity of supplies.—A few F Heads, Nezperces and 2 Snakes in all 22 have gone off to see them.—A considerable party of the natives under (Grune) and Red Feather[47] are at (Revine) de Mere, but the others say they have nothing to trade and that their horses are very lean, that prevented them from coming in.—

A former deserter, Jacques, states that the Americans last Spring took out[48] 200 horse loads of beaver, that they are to return with 150 horse loads of goods and that another company is coming in with a quantity equally as large, and that they were told that 3 and afterwards 5 ships were to come to the Columbia or near the river. This report was also circulated among the Indians, but we undeceived them.—

Friday 25

Thick fog in the morning clear fine weather afterwards.

The chiefs issued orders last night and again early this morning for all those that had anything to trade to be ready to start for our camp at an early hour, but though the horses were all assembled at the tents last night and a guard set upon them (as Blackfeet Indians are known to be in the neighborhood) yet they had strayed off through the plain, and on account of the fog could not be collected till about 9 o'clock when the whole was soon loaded and underway. One of the chiefs accompanied us ahead and we arrived at our camp[49] some time before the others, who reached it in the afternoon, and after smoking and some conversation, trade commenced and continued till it was getting dark.—The Indians from

[46]Gen. Wm. H. Ashley; see page 247 et seq. of Vol. I. of History of the American Fur Trade by H. M. Chittenden for sketch of his career.

[47]This chief was one of Peter Skene Ogden's heroes; see chapter 2 of the book, "Traits of American Indian Life and Character," by a Fur Trader.

[48]That is, to St. Louis.

[49]At Thompson Falls.

whom I borrowed the horses had fresh ones to change them with when I came back to the lodges.—The men have been busy employed at the canoes and have nearly completed repairing them.

Satd.y. 26

Cold in the morning clear fine weather afterwards.

Trade was resumed at an early hour and the whole finished by breakfast time, when the men were set to to tie up the things, and a little past noon we embarked and encamped in the evening a little above the Isle de Pine rapid.

Had a long conversation with the principal Indians, and made arrangements about the time they would be coming to meet us in the fall which they said would be the usual time. Each of the chiefs got a present of 40 balls and powder and a little tobacco, a small present was also sent to the absent chiefs, and they were strongly recommended to exert themselves hunting beaver and also to bring in provisions. They are all well pleased.

A report has been spread among the Indians that this was the last time we are to trade with them, they say they were told by a young man from below who heard it from some white men. The Americans it was added were now to get the country. This they were told was false. We applied to them to bring in our deserters who are with them.

The trade is inferior to that of last year in everything. There were only 221 beaver, 90 (?) bales of meat, 66 appichimens, very little dressed leather, and some cords, and 5 lodges.

Sunday 27

Light clouds fine pleasant weather.

Embarked before sunrise and reached the Kootenay portage[50] at the lower end of the Lake in the evening, where we found Morton and the Kootany chief with 12 or 13 of his people, the evening was employed smoking and giving and receiving the news. They are not satisfied because the whites did not go to their lands to trade as usual. They say messages were sent from the fort for them to go and trade there.—They had a good many beaver. They passed the summer in the upper waters of their own river.

Monday 28

Clear pleasant weather.

Commenced trading before sunrise, and by breakfast time had purchased all the disposable articles. The trade is good, better by far than last year, and amounts to 382 beaver & 12 damaged do. 220 Rats, 20

[50]Near Kootenay Landing, Pend d'Oreille Lake.

dressed skins & 25 Deer skins besides some cords etc. They have a good many rats and dressed skins at their lodges which they say on account of the leanness of their horses they could not bring with them. It was therefore deemed advisable that Mr. Kittson should accompany them with a supply of trading articles and purchase the whole, they are to lend him horses to go & return three men accompany him & Pierre L. Etang & a man waits for him with a canoe till he returns, while I with the other two canoes full loaded proceed to the Pendant Oreille portage,[51] and send off for the horses, by this means the trade can be finished without loss of time as the remaining canoe will will be still at the portage by the time the horses arrive from the fort.—Mr. Kittson will probably proceed down the Kootenay river to examine[52] it and send back the men to the canoe, perhaps one man and an Indian will accompany him, he is to be guided by circumstances, he will still reach the fort before us.—Accordingly about 2 o'clock we both took our departure and encamped with the canoes a little below the Cour de Alan Portage.

Tuesday

Clear fine weather.

Embarked before daylight and arrived at the Portage a little past noon, and immediately sent off the men to the fort[53] for horses.

The Indians visited us to smoke and get the news. Traded a few beaver skins. No news from the fort.

Had the baggage all stored away and covered and the canoes put bye in the evening.

Cloudy cool weather.

Had the meat[54] all opened out, and assorted and packed up in bales of 90 to 100 lb. each for the horses. The meat is in general in fine order, only a few pieces we found a little wet and damaged. Cords were also cut, and something done to arranging the saddles, etc., and putting them in order. Several of the Indians revisited us some of them got a little ammunition. The chiefs and a party are going off to the buffaloes. The Indians are wishing to trade camass, but having no bags to put it in and as we would have to hire horses to take it to the fort which would make it very dear I declined trading any. The Indians have horses themselves but are too lazy to go to the fort.

51Mouth of Calispell River again, near Cusick, Wash.

52For previous attempt to examine the Kootenay River consult this Quarterly, Vol. V., p. 177-8.

53Fort Colville.

54Dried buffalo meat purchased from the Flatheads.

dressed skins & 25 Deer skins besides some cords etc. They have a good many rats and dressed skins at their lodges which they are in search of the seasons of their horses they could not keep with them. It was therefore deemed advisable that Mr. Kittson should go [illegible] supply of trading articles and purchase the whole [illegible] horses to go & return. Three men accompany him & Steve L. Dease a man wish for him with a canoe all be returns. Take I with the other two canoes full loaded proceed to the Pembina Cradle portage and proceed on for the horses. By this means the boats can be hauled without loss of time as the returning canoe will will go with or the horses to the place the horses arrive from the fort.—Mr. Kittson will [illegible] proceed down the Kootanay river to examine & and send back the men to the canoe, perhaps one man and an Indian will accompany him, he is to be guided by circumstances. He will still reach the fort before me. Accordingly about 2 o'clock we both took our departure and encamp'd with the canoes a little below the Cour de Alan Portage.

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Thursday 31

Cloudy, fine weather.

The men employed arranging the saddles &c., & preparing the pieces to be in readiness when the horses arrive. A few Indians visited us during the day, but had nothing to trade.

Sept. 1826 Friday 1

Thick fog in the morning, clear fine weather afterwards.

The men employed us yesterday. Traded a few appichimens, some dressed skins and a robe from the Indians. The men arrived with the horses late in the evening. Little news from the fort.

Satdy. 2nd

Thick fog in the morning, clear fine weather afterwards.

After breakfast the canoe which was left at the Kootenay Portage arrived. Mr. Kittson made a pretty good trade in leather, & as was intended has gone down the Kootenay River to examine it. The men were immediately set to to arrange the pieces brought in the canoe, and application made to the Indians for the number of horses required in addition to those brought from the fort, but it was found that it would be too late before everything could be arranged and the Indian horses collected to start, therefore we deferred moving till tomorrow. The horses sent from the fort are short 2 of the number mentioned by Mr. (McDoanld.)[55] The men say all they brought from the fort are here, as there is no list of the horses I can't tell the ones that are missing.

Sunday 3rd.

Thick fog in the morning clear fine weather afterwards.

On account of the thick fog the Indians were some time of collecting their horses and it was late before they arrived with them, it was 10 o'clock when we started and we encamped about 2 at the foot of a hill, good feeding in a fine meadow for the horses. We made but a short day's journey, but we had to put up or it would have been too much for the horses to cross the hill to another place to encamp. The road was pretty good mostly through plains but a piece of thick woods. Some places the road is boggy.

Monday 4

Cloudy and foggy in the morning clear afterwards.

The people collected the horses at daylight, but before they were loaded it was about 7 o'clock, where we entered the woods and commenced ascending the hill, the top of which we did not reach till past

[55]Finan McDonald, then at Fort Colvile.

noon, and it was near sunset when we encamped on the Kettle Fall little river..[56] In mounting the hill the woods are generally thick, the road pretty good but in many places very steep and very laborious for the horses to ascend, gullies in many places cross the road, In descending on the West side it is also pretty steep and the road in some places stony. At two or three places in crossing the hill a little off the road there is water and a little herbage for the horses, but it would be difficult to keep a (large band) for the night. The summer and fall is the only season that this road is practicable with horses. The horses are a good deal fatigued.

[56]The Colville River.

Tuesday 5

Foggy in the morning fine weather afterwards.

Had the horses collected at an early hour and started a little past sunrise, and encamped a little past noon. It would have been too much for the horses to go to the fort after the hard day they had yesterday. Had two bales of leather that got wet by a horse falling in a swamp yesterday evening, opened and dried, and in the evening I left the men, and arrived at the fort after sunset, the men are to follow in the morning.

Wedy 6th.

Clear fine weather.

The people with the horses and property arrived in the forenoon, where the loads were received and all opened and examined and in good order.

The trade stands as follows.

Flat Heads.	Kootanians.
213 large beaver	297 Large Beaver
54 small "	95 Small "
21 pap "	6 Large Damaged Beaver
6 lb. (Coston)	6 Small " "
71 Appichimans	4 lb. (Coston)
6 Pr. Buffalo Robes	7 Otters
6 Red Deer Skin dressed	505 Musquash
6 Buffalo " "	2 Mortis
5 Lodges	3 Minks
4396 lb. Dry Meat	1 Fisher
119 lb. Cords	2 Appichimens
21 Pack Saddles	2 Com. Buff. Robes
(Pounfluhs), etc.	109 Red Deer Skins d'st
	71 (?)
	1 Lodge
	22 Pow. flasks

Kootanians—(Continued.)

7 Garnished shirts
3 Plain "
4 Pr. Leggins
2 (Gowns)
Cords, etc.

Thursday 7

Cloudy mild weather.

The people employed at the building.[57] Settled with the Indians who lent us the horses at Pendant Oreille River, had 72 skins to pay, 17 horses and one Indian 4 skins each.

Satdy 9

These two days past Mr. Kittson and I busy taking the inventory. Preparations are making for the express boat to the mountains starting tomorrow. Mr. Dease means to accompany it with his family, and to send them across if he understands there is a likelihood of himself following them.

Sunday 10

Clear fine weather.

The express boat[58] started in the evening deeply loaded with passengers, baggage and provisions. There are in all 20 passengers, and 23 pieces of provisions, corn, grease and dry meat.—Mr. McDonald[59] and family, Mr. Dease and family, Dr. McLaughlin's family, (J Cahn,) (F McKye) 2 boys & old (A Popt) passengers—

Monday 11

Clear fine weather, but cold in the night. The men employed at the building. I was arranging the papers.

Tuesday 12

Weather as yesterday.

Employed as yesterday. Rivet went off to Pendant Oreille to hunt roots.

[57]Fort Colvile was staked out by Governor Simpson in April, 1825, the timbers framed during the summer of 1825, and actually built in spring and summer of 1826.

[58]The express boat bound for Boat Encampment at Canoe River, there to meet the officer returning from the annual meeting of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory or elsewhere, bringing the mail and orders for the Columbia District for the next year.

[59]This is our last mention of Finan McDonald in the Columbia District; he is returning across the Rocky Mountains with his family. He came to the Columbia with David Thompson in 1807 and had been here continually since then.

Wedy 13

Fine weather.

The boat which started on Sunday returned with Mr. Dease and his family, he left by mistake a bundle of letters and papers of importance for which he had to return, and finding that the boat was too much submerged he brought back his family. He went off again immediately. Two pieces of provisions were brought back.

Thursday 14

Cloudy fair weather.

Had two men employed repairing a canoe to go off to examine the Pendant Oreille River.

Friday 15th.

The men employed as yesterday. two Indians with the two men are to accompany me, but one of them is off today and will not be back till tomorrow so that we will have to defer starting till the day following.—

It is reported among the Indians that a woman is killed at a small river on the opposite side of the Columbia, it seems she was gathering nuts, and an Indian who was hunting took her for a bear crawling among the bushes, and shot her.

One of the sows had five young pigs[60] last night.

[60]This mother was brought from Fort Vancouver by canoe route in a crate in March and April of this year, 1826; in her company was a heifer. See page 284, Vol. V., of this Quarterly.

DOCUMENTS

A New Vancouver Journal

In this final portion of this new Vancouver Journal the author gives his observations of the natives of Nootka Sound and the adjacent coasts.

As stated in the introductions to former installments this is only a portion of a manuscript that fell into the hands of Mr. A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, New Zealand. The portion we have thus reproduced is all of the manuscript that relates to the region of Puget Sound. It was kindly supplied by Mr. Turnbull who has tried in every way to ascertain the identity of the author of the Journal. In the two volumes of the manuscript there is no signature or outward evidence of the writer. From remarks in the Journal, however, it is concluded by Mr. Turnbull that the writer was Edward Bell, the clerk of the armed tender "Chatham." It is positive that the Journal was written by some officer of the "Chatham" and it may well be that Mr. Turnbull's conjecture is near the truth.

While his search was going on an appeal was made for aid from the great authorities in the British Museum, the greatest library on earth. The published portions were forwarded and the experts there did the best they could with such material. I. P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts, writes that he can only offer a conjecture, but he and his assistant, Mr. Milne, point out certain phrases, such as "septum of the nose," which would suggest Surgeon Walker as the probable author.

By eliminating such officers as are mentioned by name, these two seem about the only ones likely to have had the education necessary to have written the Journal. It seems quite likely, therefore, that either Clerk Bell or Surgeon Walker was the author of the new Journal that has thus come to light.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE JOURNAL

(Continued From Page 308, October Quarterly)

On the 18th arrived the Brig Fenis a trader belonging to Macao, under Portuguese Colours. She had been but one season on the Coast and was now going direct to China with a tolerable cargo of 700 Skins. The management of this concern was under a Mr Duffin who was on board her. This is the Mr Duffin that was in the Feluce with Mr Mears when he first came to Nootka and built his small vessel in the summer of '88 and that was afterwards in the Argonaut when she was captured (under the command of Mr Colnett) by the Spaniards in this

Cove in the summer of '89 and so often mentioned in Mears's Memorial & papers respecting the captures &c.,

'Twas about this time that the business between Seigr. Quadra and Captn. Vancouver respecting the giving up and receiving of Nootka was drawing to a conclusion and we found after all that the difference respecting the *right* of Possession of the English to this place, which I have before mentioned arose between these two gentlemen, and which was at that time thought so little of, was now the very barrier to the settlement of the business and it was now known that the Spaniards would not give the place up to us, in the manner that we wanted. Nor did either party conceive that they acted contrary to the Articles of the Convention. Various letters officially passed between Captn. Vancouver & Mr Quadra.

The Article of the Convention runs thus:— "It is agreed that the Building and tracts of Land situated &c. &c. of which the subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April 1789 by a Spanish Officer shall be restored to the said British Subjects."

The place where Mr Mears built his house was in a little hollow of the Land[31] in the N. Western corner of the Cove formed by high rocky Bluffs at each side; here it was he built his vessel, for which purpose it was extremely commodious and as he carried on all his operations in this corner, 'twas natural for him to have his houses, sheds &c., contiguous to his works, not, but what he had (according to his own account) an equal right to all and any other part of the Cove, having purchased the whole of the Land, of the Chiefs Callicum and Maquinna, but he had built his house, sheds &c. and carried on all his business here because it was a snug, convenient place. For the same reason when we first came in, because the place seemed so convenient, we erected a Tent here, and all the repairs of the boats, casks &c. was done here. Our Cables, Provisions &c. when taken out to lay the vessel ashore were landed here, and 'twas at this place the Chatham was haul'd on shore and repaired. The two high rocky Bluffs I have spoken of were the limits at each side, and the Sea Beach, and an old Tree towards the end of this little nitch in the land, were the other limits of the ground that Mr Mears's works & houses occupied and in this space there was not altogether half an acre of ground, with in it, the Spaniards had no buildings of any kind. Now Mr Quadra says that, as this was the only place occupied by Mears, *this spot* of ground, and *this spot only* was all the "Tracts of Land of which the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed," that consequently this was the extent of the British

[31] Vancouver published a picture of "little hollow," which allows one to pick out the exact site at the present time.

Territories on this Coast, and to no more than which they have any right or claim, and that finally, according to the Letter of the Article in the Convention, he could only give this Spot up to Captn. Vancouver as *British property* and under the *Sovereignty of Great Britain.* He said he would leave us in possession of the *whole of the place*, and his own house, and all the other houses and buildings &c., but not as British property, that the right of Sovereignty of the whole of the Sound (except the little spot of British Territory I have mentioned) should belong to the King of Spain and should remain *Spanish property.* I have likewise heard that he even said, that, when he was going away the Spanish Flag should be haul'd down from the Fort on Hog Island, and the English Colours being hoisted in their room he would salute them, but this was only said in conversation. Captn. Vancouver asked him to write this officially in a letter, that however he would not do, for had he done it, little more altercation would have taken place, as the striking their colours, and saluting the English in their room, would be a cessation of the place to all intents and purposes. On these terms that I have stated Captn. Vancouver refused to receive the place and here the matter rested, till, as is specified in the Treaty, the two Courts decide the difference.

Mr Quadra prepar'd for sailing in a few days, he dispatched the Hope Brig to the Streights of Defuca,[32] at the entrance of which the Spaniards have a small settlement and a Frigate lying there, with orders to the commander to evacuate the settlement and make all haste to Nootka where he was to remain for the ensuing winter.

Mr. Duffin happened to arrive about the time that the above difference arose respecting Nootka, and in order to substantiate Mr Mears's rights & claims to the Land, and to do away all claims of the Spaniards on just grounds, he drew up the following statement, and delivered to to Captn. Vancouver.[33] "To Captn. George Vancouver, commander of His Britannick Majesty's Ships Discovery and Chatham, now lying in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Whereas different reports have been propogated relative to what right Mr Mears had for taking possession of the Land in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. I shall here state with that candour and veracity which has always influenced me on such occasions, an impartial account of Mr Mears's proceedings in the above Port.

"Towards the end of the year 1787 a commercial expedition was undertaken by John Henry Cox Esq. & Co., Merchants then residing at Canton, who accordingly fitted and equipp'd two ships for the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America. The conduct of this expedition was

[32]Reference is here made to Neah Bay which the Spaniards had called Nunez Gaona. There Lieutenant Fidalgo was beginning a fort.

[33]The testimony was considered important by Captain Vancouver, who sets it forth at considerable length in his journal.

reposed in John Mears Esq., as commander in chief and sole conductor of the voyage & who was likewise one of the Merchant proprietors. These vessels were equipped under Portuguese Colours with a view to mitigate those heavy port charges imposed on ships of every nation (the Portguese only excepted) which circumstanc is well known to all commercial gentlemen trading to that part of the world, therefore the above vessels were fitted out in the name and under the firm of John Cavallo Esq., a Portuguese Merchant then residing at Macao, but he had no property in them whatsoever, both their Cargoes being entirely British property and entirely navigated by British Subjects.

"We arrived at the above Port in Nootka Sound in May, 1788. On our first arrival at that port the two chiefs Maquinna & Callicum were absent. On their return which was about the 17th or 18th of the same month Mr Mears and myself accompanied by Mr Robert Funter our 2nd officer went ashore and treated with the said chiefs for the whole of the Land which forms Friendly Cove Nootka Sound in His Britannick Majesty's name and accordingly bought it of them for 8 or 10 Sheets of Copper and several other trifling articles and the Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement and their chiefs and likewise their subjects did homage to Mr Mears as their Sovereign using those formalities that are peculiar to themselves and which Mr Mears has made mention of in his publication. The British Flag was display'd at the same time that these formalities were used as is customary on these occasions (and not the Portuguese Flag as has been intimated by several people who were not present at the time and consequently advanced these assertions without a foundation). On our taking possession of the Cove in his Maj's. name as aforementioned Mr Mears caused a house to be erected on the Spot where the Chatham's Tent now stands it being the most convenient spot of the Cove for our intentions. The chiefs and their subjects offered to quit the Cove entirely and reside at a place call'd Tashees and leave the place to ourselves as entire Masters and owners of the whole Cove and Lands adjacent, consequently we were not confined to that spot but had full liberty to erect a house in any other part of the Cove, but chose the spot we did for the abovemention'd reason. Mr Mears therefore appointed Mr Rob; Funter, his 2nd. officer, to reside in the house which consisted of 3 Bedchambers for the Officers and men, and a Mess room. The above apartments were about 5 feet from the ground and under them were apartments allotted for putting our stores in. Exclusive of this house were several sheds and outhouses for the convenience of the Artificers to work in, and on Mr Mears's departure the house &c. was left in good con-

dition, and he enjoin'd Maquinna to take care of them until his (Mr Mears's) return or else some of his associates on the coast again.

"It has been said by several people that on Don Martinez's arrival on the Coast not a vestige of the said house remain'd, however that may be I cannot say as I was not at Nootka when he arrived there. On our return in July 1789, in the said Cove we found it occupied by the Subjects of His Catholic Majesty and likewise some people belonging to the Ship Columbia, commanded by Mr John Kendrick under the Flag and protection of the United States of American had their Tents and out houses erected on the same spot where formerly our house stood but I saw no remains of our Architecture. We found lying at anchor in the same Cove His Catholic Majesty's Ships Princessa and San Carlos and likewise the Ship Columbia and Sloop Washington, and the second day after our arrival we were captured by Don Martinez and the Americans were suffered to carry on their commerce with the Natives unmolested. This, Sir, is the best information I can give you that might tend to elucidate the propriety of Mr Mears's rights & claims to Nootka Village and Friendly Cove, and shou'd anyone whatsoever doubt the truth of this protest I am always ready to attest it before any Court of judicature or any one person duly authoriz'd to examine me.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your &c. &c.
(Signed) Robt. Duffin"

Before Mr. Duffin sail'd from Nootka Sound he made oath to the above before Captn. Vancouver. The state of affairs was now materially altered and instead of our (the Chatham) staying at Nootka it was confidently reported she was to go immediately home to England with dispatches. The Doedalus who was now just unloaded was ordered to reload as quickly as possible and each of the Vessels were to take a certain quantity of stores and provisions out of her.

On the 19th at high water we hove the vessel on the Blocks and repair'd that part of the false Keel that was knock'd off. The following day we hove her Broadside on the beach to repair some Copper, that was knock'd off her keel farther aft and on the 21st the repairs being finished we hove off and began reloading with all dispatch. The same day arrived the Margaret, American ship belonging to Mr Magee. She had made a successful trip to the Northward and had collected together between 11 & 1200 Skins and as she was to come on the Coast the following season she landed here on the beach the frame of a small Schooner with one of her Mates and a party of seamen & artificers who were to be her crew. These people were to remain here the winter and build

this little vessel so as to be ready to start on the coast the first ensuing season. They were to live in the house now occupied by Mr Magee who was going away in the Margaret to the Sandwich Islands from whence he was uncertain whether he should proceed to China to dispose of his cargo and come out again or spend the winter at those Islands and after that come strait on to the Coast.

On this day Mr Quadra took his farewell dinner with Captn. Vancouver on board the Discovery as he intended sailing the next day. Seigr. Camaano was likewise there. The healths of the Spanish & English Sovereigns were toasted with great Loyalty, and accompanied by a salute of 21 Guns from the Discovery, and Mr. Quadra's health and good passage to his next port was most cheerfully bumpered, and accompanied by a salute of 13 guns, in the evening he insisted on our all going on shore, and spending the last evening with him which we did exceedingly pleasantly with Singing, Music, Dancing and all kinds of amusements. The next morning he sail'd in the Activa Brig for Monterrey a Spanish Settlemnet on the Coast of California and as he rounded Hog Island paid the last compliment to Captn. Vancouver by saluting him with 13 Guns, which was return'd. With Mr Quadra Mr Wethered went. Seigr. Camaano now hoist'd his Pendant on board the remaining Spanish Vessel the Arasansu, and became the Commandante of the Place. He took up his residence on shore in the Government house.

Never was the departure of a man more regretted than that of Mr Quadra's. He was universally belov'd and admired and the only consolation we had was that we should see him again at Monterrey (whither 'twas reported we were to go from this) there he said he wou'd wait for us and make it his business to receive us. In such a place as Nootka, so remote from all civilized places (except the small settlements in California) and after having been so long there, he lived in a style that I should suppose is rarely seen under such circumstances, and supported the dignity of his Court in a very becoming manner. His house was open to every gentleman, he gave few particular invitations, they were general. He was fond of society and of social amusements and the Evening parties at his house were among the pleasantest I have spent since leaving England. One of the Articles in the Convention provides for all difficulties which may arise between the officers of either party in case of infraction of the treaty being settled by *only* the two Courts. Captain V. and Seigr. Quadra therefore parted on as good terms as they met.[34]

[34]Captain Vancouver, in his own journal, manifests the same enthusiasm in speaking of the character of Quadra.

23rd. This day arrived the American Ship Columbia commanded by Mr Grey and his sloop the Adventure.[35] This little vessel was built on this coast. He was now proceeding to China with a valuable cargo of skins, having no less (according to report) than 17 or 1800. He sail'd the next morning. It was very difficult here to come at the truth of what numbers of skins ships collected; for the Masters of them and their mates & ships company, whether from a privilege they think they can claim by passing round Cape Horn, or from some unaccountable species of distrust or jealousy seldom agree in their accounts of their quantity on board, many of them, and often, varying hundreds of skins. However I believe I may be somewhat tolerably near the truth in the quantities I have mention'd throughout, at all events I am pretty sure I am not above the mark, more likely considerably under it.

28th. We had hitherto since we came been very fortunate in our weather having had regular Land and Sea Breezes every day with clear pleasant dry Weather but today the wind came from the S. E. and blew a very fresh Gale with rain, which continued all night and the next day, and in the evening, by a sudden gust, the Bower Cable parted in the nip of the clinch, and as we were moor'd pretty near the shore in the N. W. part of the Cove, the vessel on parting swung head to wind and gently drifted on the Rocks, but we soon clear'd her by heaving on the N. E. Cable. We then weigh'd the anchor we parted from and bent the Cable which the Deodalus's Launch carried it out to the S. E. corner of the Cove where we hove into and moor'd. She had received no damage her side only having touch'd the rocks and that slightly.

Captain Vancouver now thought proper to send his first Lieut: Mr. Zach Mudge to England with his dispatches. He was to sail in a day or two in the Fenis bound direct to China (touching in her way at the Sandwich Islands) and from thence to proceed home by the first India Ship. In consequence of this more promotions took place. Mr Paget (2nd Lieut. of the Discovery) became first Lieut:, Mr Baker (the 3rd Lieut:) became second, Mr Swaine our late new Master was promoted to 3rd Lieut: and Mr Munby, a Master's Mate of the Discovery appointed Master of the Chatham.

October. On the 1st of October the Fenis with Lieut: Mudge on board sail'd out of the Sound as also the Jackall sloop. We had by this time got nearly all our Provisions and Stores on board. The Guns were this day got off and the Yards and Topmasts were sway'd up. Our water was almost compleated, the late rain had formed a fine run of water in the *British Territories,* before this we had been obliged to send

[35]The Spaniards bought this little vessel from the Americans, paying for her "seventy-five prime sea otter skins."

above two miles for that article. The weather return'd to its old pleasant state and we had now the regular Land and Sea Breeze.

On the 2nd in the morning arrived the Spanish Frigate Princessa commanded by Seigr. Don Salvador Fidalgo,[36] a Lieut: in the Royal Navy, together with the Hope Brig, Ingram, this is the same Princessa which Martinez commanded when he took possession of Nootka but is much such another Vessel as the Aransasu but carried more guns and men. She had 10 Guns mounted.

This Vessel came from the entrance of the Streights of Defuca, where in a small part near Cape Classett, they as I have already mentioned had a small settlement, their only establishment being the Princessa and her crew: they now evacuated it.[37] A melancholy murder as equally unprovoked, although not attended with such barbarous circumstances, as that of the Spanish Boy, was committed during their stay at their new Settlement. The first Pilot of the Princessa going on shore with his fowling piece to amuse himself shooting, after proceeding a little distance from where he landed was dragg'd by a party of the natives (with whom they had till that time been on the most amicable terms) into the woods, where they stripp'd him naked, and then taking his Gun from him which was loaded with Ball, they shot him dead with it. No provocation was known to have been given. Seigr. Fidalgo therefore determined very properly to punish these Savages for so atrocious a crime in a manner that it well deserved and with a severity that would make them ever remember it, and deter them from committing such for the future. He fired indiscriminately on the whole tribe, laid the Village waste, and routed them so successfully that they fled to the opposite side of the Streights.

Mr Fidalgo being an older officer than Seigr. Camaano immediately took the command on him, and as he was to remain here the winter, where he might expect much bad weather, he wisely began whilst the fine weather remain'd, to repair and refit his House, Gardens &c. He brought with him from the late settlement in Defuca, no less than 8 head of cattle, besides Poultry in abundance, Hogs, Goats, Sheep &c. On the 4th Seigr. Camaano in the Arasansu sail'd out of the Cove.

6th. This day the Jenny a ship Schooner, Baker, Master, belonging to Bristol, on this coast for Skins, arrived in the Cove. She had been but one season on the Coast and being unsuitably provided with articles of Traffic, her success had been but poor, having collected no more than about 350 good Sea Otter Skins. As she was to take the

[36]His name is commemorated by that of the island separated from the mainland of Skagit County, Washington, by Swinomish Slough. Anacortes is the principal city on Fidalgo Island.

[37]They had begun the erection of a fort at Neah Bay, for to this day fragments of old Spanish bricks are found where the foundations were started.

cargo home to England by orders, Mr Baker had determin'd on going now straight home, touching only at the Island of Masafuero to kill a few seals. Had he had a pass to entitle him to have gone to China where he could have sold his cargo he would have in that case laid in an assortment of articles that would have suited the natives on this Coast, to which he would have return'd and probably procured a valuable cargoe. He had on board two poor Girls, Natives of the Sandwich Islands whom he had brought with him from those Islands, but not wishing to touch there on his way home (provided he could otherwise get them a passage to their home) and hearing that Captn. Vancouver was now in Nootka he came in here for the purpose of requesting him to give them a passage to their native Island Atooi. This was readily agreed to, and the Ladies accordingly remov'd into the Discovery. There the poor girls found themselves happy and satisfied not only with the pleasing idea of getting soon home to their friends & country, but having a companion on board the Discovery, (one of their countrymen that Captn. Vancouver brought with him from Owhyee as I have at that place taken notice of) to whom they cou'd converse and who from his knowledge of our language could contribute much to their comfort by interpreting their wants and desires.

This is the Vessel that touch'd at Otaheite and brought from that place Mr Wethered, and the 4 or 5 others of the shipwrecked crew of the Matilda. Besides touching at Otaheite she had likewise touch'd at Easter Island, and, on her passage from Otaheite to the Sandwich Islds; at Christmas Island, where Mr Baker found Captn. Cook's Bottle, and he also found what Captn. Cook could not find on this Island, which was the very essential article fresh water. Here he completed his Wood & Water, turn'd about 70 Turtle, and found plenty of excellent Cocoa Nuts. He left on the Island a fine Otaheite Boar & a Sow big with young and half a dozen Cocks & Hens, and putting another paper mentioning what he had done here into the Captn. Cook's Bottle seal'd it up again and left it in the same place he found it.

8th. We had very fresh Breezes from the S. E. attended with rain and we afterwards learn'd it had blown a very heavy Gale at sea. The Doedalus being now reladen, shifted her birth further out and was getting ready for sea.

10th. Arrived the Butterworth English Ship, Mr. Brown, Master, together with one of his Squadron, the Jackall. Of these Vessels I have already given some small account. I shall only here add that the Squadron under him had been but unsuccessful this, their first season, but they were yet to be on the coast another season from which Mr. Brown expected great things.

The sale of the effects of the late unfortunate gentlemen Messrs Hergest and Gooch commenced this day. Only the Officers and gentlemen of the two Vessels were permitted to purchase anything. The sale was by auction and as wearing apparel was among the principal articles (Books & Nautical Instruments being the chief of the remaining things) every thing went off well and indeed the generality at high prices.

On the 11th arrived here the Prince William Henry, English Schooner, a Mr Ewing Master, belonging to New Castle and one of Mr Alder's Squadron employ'd on the Fur Trade. She had not procured many Skins. This Vessel made a most remarkable passage from England to the Coast round Cape Horn having made it in no more than 5 months including a fortnight's stay at the Sandwich Islands. I have since understood that Mr Alder and his associates were proceeding illegally in their Commerce not having a South Sea pass, this renders them fair and lawful prizes to all Vessels on the Coast properly authorized to Trade.

Being now ready for Sea and having got our Boats & everything from the shore, on the 13th the Discovery made the Signal to unmoor. The wind that for some days before had been from the S. E. blowing fresh with rain now shifted to its old quarter the N. W. with regular night Land Breezes. The Jenny, Hope and Margaret sail'd out of the Cove, at 9 warped further out, but the Doedalus not being yet unmoor'd we brought up in 13 fathom water. At 11 we weigh'd but the wind shifting more to the Northward the Vessel wore round upon the point of the Cove and took the ground. We soon however hove her off and as we then thought without receiving much damage, but in this we were mistaken as will appear hereafter. We anchored after this outside the Cove, and at 7 o'clock the next morning once more weigh'd and with the Doedalus in company made sail out of the Sound, saluting the Fort with 13 Guns which was return'd with an equal number from the Princessa. The Discovery having got clear out the night before did not come to an Anchor but stood out and we now saw her lying too for us. As we were going out we saw a Brig working into the Sound which we took to be the three Bs.—Alder.

We were now bound to Monterrey, a Spanish Settlement on the Coast of California, touching on our way at Deception Bay (as 'tis called by Mr Mears) in the Latitude of 42.18 N or thereabouts, where Mr Grey, Master of the American Ship Columbia found a River which he enter'd, and being the first person as he conceived that ever entered it, he call'd it Columbia River. By a plan of it which Captn. Vancouver got at Nootka Mr Grey proceeded up the River about 50 miles where he left it wider considerably than the Entrance, and from whence

nothing of its source or termination was to be seen. Our business therefore was to determine either its source or termination.

After the commencement of the month of October much bad weather may be expected on this Coast as far to the Southward as the Latitude of 39° and 40° N and our passage to that situation which I shall presently relate will fully evince the truth of this observation. Had we sail'd from Nootka at the time Mr Quadra did, or even as late as the 1st of October we shou'd have escaped perhaps one of the most disagreeable, one of the most unpleasant passages that we have experienced, or shall experience during the voyage. S. E. Gales, with constant rain and Fogs, is the predominant weather on this coast in the Winter Months and we were informed by the Spaniards and others that have wintered at Nootka that they have been most generally three months of incessant hard rain. Very little snow falls on the low ground nor is the Frost at all intense, the Ice on no part of their Lakes or Rivers being above an inch thick.

These were among the comforts we shou'd have enjoyed had we remained here for the Winter which it was certainly intended we should had the place been given up to us as was expected.

The Latitude of Friendly Cove as it was made at the Observatory on shore was 49°34′30″ N.—and the Longitude 233°33′Et of Greenwich.

Having now given an account of our transactions in Nootka Sound I shall proceed in the following pages to give some account of the Natives of the Coast we have been on this season and on the Trade to it for Skins although Mr Mears's Voyage, so generally read in England, and Portlock's, Dixon's and tho' the last, yet the best of all Cook's, very accurately give everything materially worth noticing.

Of the Natives of Nootka Sound and the Coast adjacent, their Manners, Customs, &c.

Although we had now been on the Coast of America for nearly six months—a whole summer—yet it is to be remembered all our Navigation from entering Defuca's Streights had been Inland and we had but little opportunity of making any remarks on the Inhabitants except those of Nootka, for as to what we saw in the Streights of Defuca they were not very numerous, they however, as well as those we saw off Cape Classett at the entrance of the Streights seem'd from what we could observe, to differ but little in appearance, manners, customs &c., from the Nootkan Indians, except the language, this at the entrance of the Streights and at the Sound into which we came from Desolation reach (and which led us to the Sea) was the same as spoken in Nootka Sound,

but in the interior part of the Streights, more than two or three very different languages are spoken. The generality of the men are under the middling size, tolerably well made with long Black Hair and good teeth, their Eyes small & Black with but little vivacity or expression in them, their cheek bones are in general high and prominent and their foreheads in the generality of them also very high and tapering to a small size at the back of the head. This curious distortion of the head is occasion'd by the manner they are treated when Infants, the head being tightly bound up in a Cradle with Fillets to produce the intended shape. The women except having their heads distorted in much the same manner as the men, in general in my opinion are superior in appearance to the men. They are delicate, with tolerable good eyes and smooth skins and I have seen some very handsome faces among them. The colour of these people when they are clean and free'd from the Ochre and filth with which they daub themselves, approaches very near to Europeans and some women I have seen as white as an English woman.

In their countenances they have very little animation, on the contrary they are in general of a very reserved dejected appearance and are not very prone to mirth. The women are very modest in their behaviour and cannot bear the most trifling attacks of gallantry. An indelicate word will often bring tears into their eyes but as there are few Societies without a Bad member or two so it was here.

The married men here were very jealous and could no more bear any indelicacy offered to their wives than they themselves. Polygamy is allowed here, at least I know among the chiefs, who are allow'd many wives. Maquinna had four, by all of whom he had children. Both men and women are extremely filthy and dirty in their persons, dwellings, manner of living and in short in everything whatever. They seldom or ever wash themselves, and they beautify themselves highly in their opinions by besmearing their faces with Red Ochre and white paint mixed with Fish Oil, in different figures, which at times renders their appearance frightful. This custom is however commonly confined to the men. As to their Hair, very little or scarce any care is taken of it by the men except indeed that when it is long enough they often plait the hind part into several separate long tails, which by being adorn'd on those days that they go to Whale feast or other Gala, with a large quantity of Powder'd Red Ochre, Oil of Fish, and down of Birds, get in time so thick and clotted as to become next to inseparable. They never use combs but the Women do and their Combs which are of wood are made by themselves. The Hairs of the women hang down behind straight and in the middle of the Front of the head is parted off towards each side but it is mixed

troughout with oil which is generally Venison Oil and with this species of oil the women likewise are fond of greasing their faces. But the combs they make use of are only for the purpose of combing the Hair smooth and straight and not for destroying vermin. These they conceive too precious to run the risk of loosing by using small combs therefore they pick them out with their fingers from each others heads and not willing to go unrewarded for their pains—eat them. Their Garments, Canoes and fishing implements are their chief workmanship and of these I procured samples that will better shew their ingenuity than I can explain it. The Garments worn by all ranks are much the same, the most common kind are made of the inside part of the Bark of the Pine tree[38] which after going through a particular process of steeping it in water, beating it out &c. is wove in small narrow strips into the Garment, the upper edge being generally bound with a Strip of Sea Otter skin and the end terminating in Tassels & fringes either of the Bark or of a small line which they make from a species of Flax plant. The Chiefs frequently wear Otter Skins, either made into Garments, or in their natural state as taken from the animal, only sewing the sides of two together and letting the head & paws hang over like lappets, but the shape and manner of wearing these garments I had forgot to mention, the Garment is square, or nearly so, being deep enough to hang from the chin to just below the Calves of the legs and long enough to wrap round them, this is passed under the left arm and ties with a thong at the two upper corners, over the right shoulder leaving thereby both arms free and the right side of the garment open entirely. Over this in bad weather they commonly wear a small round cloak if I may be allowed to call it so, it is of one piece, circular, with a hole to admit the head, and hangs from the neck to the middle of the body. They likewise manufacture a Woollen Cloth which they use to wear, though not so generally as the other kinds I have mentioned, this I believe is made from the Wool of an animal which we never saw and call'd the Mountain Sheep.[39] This last being much scarcer than their other manufactures, are more valuable among themselves than Otter Skins, that is, *one* garment is of more value than *one* Otter skin.

Besides their employment at these manufactures, fishing & killing the Sea Otters are their principal occupations. As to their amusements and pleasures I cannot say that I ever saw any, nor do I think they have any. They are extremely indolent and lazy and in general seem devoid of mirth. Their risible Faculties are seldom exercised and they never appear surprized, delighted or astonished at any thing they see, however

[38] A mistake was here made by the observer. The bark used was that of the cedar tree. (Thuja plicata.)

[39] In reality the mountain goat which does produce wool while the mountain sheep produces hair like a deer.

new, strange, or entertaining. In their tempers I should suppose them very suspicious, fearful and revengeful. They eat all their food (which always is Fish) boiled or broil'd and this they perform by putting the Fish into a Wooden Vessel with water which they heat by putting hot stones in.

Their Houses are universally built of Wood and in the same manner as that of Maquinna's which I have described. The Natives about Nootka have regular Summer and Winter Habitations. Their Summer ones are near the Sea Coast and their Winter ones, on the banks of the Arms of the Sea that run for a considerable distance Inland. All the Indians that we have seen this year on the Coast have preferr'd Copper to all other Articles. Blue Cloth was I believe equally as valuable. Next to these two articles all other kinds of Cloth of Woollen manufacture, large Yellow Metal Buttons, Copper Tea & Cooking Kettles were in most estimation. They are very fond of our food, and their general cry was for Bread and this they preferred to everything else in barter for Fish and such like small articles. But of all the different things they get the Woollen Cloth is almost the only one that is ever seen among them a second time, for they wear it on them and in the same fashion they wear their own garments. Perhaps the other articles they send inland to Barter with different tribes of Indians, for what, those on the Sea Coast cannot themselves attain otherwise. This indeed is known to be the case, some of the Masters of the Merchantmen told me they saw articles among Indians in the Latitude of 46° that they sold to Indians in the Latitude of 55 & 56 N and the Natives explain'd that they had got them last from an Indian tribe, and thus I suppose do the articles traverse from tribe to tribe. Sails for their canoes they are likewise very fond of, and use them with great dexterity.

As to the religion of these Indians I know nothing, it being a subject too profound to enter into with them, and more especially as I was not sufficiently acquainted with their Language for such an undertaking. We had however frequent opportunities in Defuca's Straits of seeing the manner the Indians there dispose of their dead and which I conceive to be the same method they use at Nootka from the very inconsiderable distance between the two places and the very great affinity between them in all their other manners and customs. The corpse is wrapp'd up either in Matts or Deer Skins, according I should imagine to the rank of the deceased, and put into a canoe which is secured in the spreading branches of the largest Trees. About the middle of the Tree we often found canoes fastened on the lower Branches and some of them containing four or five dead Bodies. Sometimes instead of a canoe we found the Corpse squees'd

into a Box. This last method I shou'd suppose was used by those who could not afford to expend a Canoe for such purposes.

Though Maquinna is the greatest chief in the neighborhood of Nootka Sound yet Wicananish who resides at Clyonquot[40] seems to me to be the Emperor of the Sea Coast between Defuca's Streights and Woody point, an extent of upwards of a degree & a half of Latitude, and the most populous part of the Coast (for its extent) but Maquinna is not tributary to him nor does he allow his rank to be inferior to Wicananish's. Their families are united by Marriage which of course unites their Politicks. Wicannanish's property is very great and as I before mentioned is possessed of about 400 Muskets. With such a force no wonder that small vessels are afraid to enter the Port. He attempted to take the Ship Columbia while she was wintering in Clyonquot but I must confess I cannot bestow much pity on those who have been attacked when I recollect that they themselves have put the very weapons in their hands which are turn'd against them. Notwithstanding this threacherous piratical disposition the Chiefs behave with some degree of honor to those with whom they make bargains.

Wicananish amongst others frequently receives in advance from the Masters of Vessels (particularly Mr Kendrick) the value of from 50 to 100 Skins to be paid in a certain time which hitherto he has commonly fulfill'd and when the Butterworth & Jenny were together in that part I have understood they could not purchase a skin as Wicananish was making up a quantity he owed and had likewise made a promise to the person he was in debt to to keep all the skins for him over and above the sum due, that he collected. From what I have seen and heard I have not a doubt remaining in my own mind that these Indians are Cannibals. Knowing well in what light we consider this species of Barbarity, of course, when questioned on the subject they will not own it but the circumstance of the murder of the Spanish Boy where the Flesh was clearly cut out of the Legs & thighs and some other of the fleshy parts of the Body puts it beyond a doubt. It was well known among the Spaniards that Maquinna had killed and feasted on two Boys his own Slaves a little time before Mr Quadra arrived at Nootka for which Mr Quadra threatened to kill him. The fear of this prevented him doing it in so public a manner as that it could be found out although it is said he had often since privately regaled himself on human flesh. During the time we were at Nootka Mr Hanson in passing from the Doedalus to the Chatham had a human hand thrown into the boat to him from some Indians in a Canoe that had not been a very long time cut from the

[40]Spelled Clayoquot in British Columbia literature. Clayoquot Sound is on the western shore of Vancouver Island, south of Nootka Sound.

Body. In short from all that I have heard and from my own observation I have no doubts (as I already observed) but that these Indians are Cannibals.[41] Having now dwelt long enough on the Indians of Nootka I shall proceed to make some observations on the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America nor am I going to give these observations and opinions on the subject as entirely my own, many of them being collected from the conversation of those whom I conceive to be good judges of the matter.

The Trade to the N. W. Coast of America had it been properly carried on might now have probably been a remarkably lucrative one. Had England in the first instance taken possession of the Coast by making a settlement at Nootka or some other convenient place and built a Fort and confined the Trade to themselves the Advantages arising from it to England would I should suppose be great. The average prices of the first cargoes of Sea Otter Skins that were carried to China (according to an account of them which I have seen published by Mr Dalrymple and which he says was procured from a Mr Cox a Merchant residing at China) compared to the average prices of the latest cargoes carried there were greater in the proportion of more than three to one. Many of the first Cargoes having sold on an average at 40 dollars per Skin whilst the late cargoes averaged no more than from 12 to 15 dollars per skin, though more good skins were among the cargoes of the latter, the more considerable part of the first cargoes being composed of garments of skins that had been worn and the average value of the articles *now* given in barter to the Indians for the skins in this Coast compar'd to what was at first given is greater in the proportion of near four to one. Both these effects were caused by the number of vessels of all nations (particularly the Americans) who instantly jumped at the Trade on hearing the success of the first vessels. More and more ships were seen every season and the Indians who soon saw the eagerness of all hands to purchase their skins demanded their own prices which was as readily given them by the purchasers who studying their private interests *for the moment argued* to themselves that those who gave the most got the most. A sheet of Copper that at one time wou'd purchase four skins at last wou'd not purchase at some places one. Muskets were early given them in Barter which they could not use without Powder and Ball, these they demanded for the Skins and got them and for a length of time no skins could be purchased without ammunition & Fire Arms. Some of the first Muskets that were sold procured 6 and seven Skins, now, two skins, but more commonly one, is the price. At the district of Wicananish that chief can turn out four hundred men arm'd with muskets and well found with am-

[41] It is probable that the cannibalism that once prevailed there was for for superstitious ceremonials rather than for food.

munition, a considerable part of which have been given him in barter by a Mr Kendrick, Master of an American Vessel call'd the Washington.[42] Their former weapons, Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs are now thrown aside & forgotten. At Nootka it was the same way everyone had his musket. Thus are they supplied with weapons which they no sooner possess than they turn against the donors. Every season produces instances of their daring treacherous conduct. Few ships have been on the Coast that have not been attack'd or attempted to be attacked and in general many lives have been lost on both sides.

Such a number of Vessels soon glutted the China market and some who were needy and could not stand out with the Chinese sold at the best price offered. Some were ruined, some few grew rich still however the number of Traders encreased every season. The eagerness of some of these desperate Traders has in more than two or three instances urged them to infamous practices for procuring their cargoes for where the Indians have refused disposing of their Skins either from disliking the articles or from the quantity offered being too small in their opinions, some of these Traders have by force of Arms made them part with the skins on their own terms, nay have in some places forcibly taken their skins from them without making any return whatever. The interval of time between the capture of the English Traders by the Spaniards and the concluding of the Treaty between England and Spain afforded the Americans an opportunity of doing all that I have mentioned and the opportunity was readily embraced by them as they well knew that their career would not be of very long duration, for should the business have been decided in favor of England they knew of course their trade wou'd not be allowed and they had but little doubt shou'd the Spaniards have been confirmed in their rights to Nootka that their Trade would from that time be no longer allowed. If England conceived that the Trade on this Coast was worth her while to quarrel with Spain about why did she not in the first instance make a settlement there. Had this been done none of the evils I have mentioned would have come to pass and a small number of Vessels on a well regulated plan would have carried on the Trade with (*most probably*) as much success now as at the beginning. The first Vessels sent out from England on this Coast were fitted out by Messrs Etches & Co. who unfortunately failed in business but this did not arise from any loss sustained by their Vessels, their misfortune having happened before the voyage was completed and the voyage although it

[42]The Lady Washington which had come out with the Columbia from Boston in 1788. Captain John Kendrick exchanged ships with Captain Robert Gray who returned to Boston in the Columbia by way of China and was thus the first to carry the Stars and Stripes around the Globe. Captain Kendrick remained on the Lady Washington in the fur trade between China and the American coast.

did not prove in the end so very lucrative as was expected was far from being a losing one. It was those gentlemen who fitted out the King George and Queen Charlotte, commanded by Messrs Portlock & Dixon and the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal Messrs Collnett & Duncan. But had Mr. Portlock done what (in the opinion of those who were well able to judge) he ought to have done he might have ensured his owner's fortune and his own. The K. George & Q. Charlotte were fitted out on a most liberal plan, furnished with the best Artificers and with everything necessary, not only for prosecuting their Trade on all parts of the N. W. Coast but for making a Settlement on it should it be deemed by Mr P. Expedient.

We find they make the Coast in very good time but instead of seperating and each ship taking the opposite ends of the Coast as I think they obviously ought to have done they both together enter Cook's River where they staid a considerable time without getting scarcely anything and after leaving that place without stopping at any other place whatsoever they run down the Coast, made an attempt to get into Nootka, which not succeeding in as soon as they expected, and not having patience to persevere, they gave up and stood away for the Sandwich Islands with no more than Eighty skins of all kinds between the two Vessels. Here it was they missed their fortunes, this season they had no rival and it has since been supposed and from many concurring circumstances very rightly supposed that at the very time Mr Portlock was off Nootka there was not less than 800 to a thousand Sea Otter skins in that Sound and its neighborhood. When the time for the second season of their returning to the Coast drew nigh, we find they again came together and enter Prince Wm's Sound where they met Mears. This circumstance first gave rise to the idea of seperating which had they not done, there is every reason to believe they would have left the Coast with but as little success at the ends of this Season as they did last, for after they seperated Mr Dixon discovered the Queen Charlotte's Islands and there procured the most considerable part of their cargo. Mr. Portlock after leaving Prince Wm's Sound only touches at one other Port in the Lat: as high as 57½ N. Here he stayed a considerable while picking up a few skins and from this with but little more than two hundred skins and without again attempting Nootka nor any other part of the Coast he goes away to the Sandwich Islands bidding a final adieu to the Coast of America and the whole of the two vessels cargoes did not amount to more than 1800 Otter Skins of all sorts. For as to all the other kinds of skins they are of but little value at China comparatively speaking with Otter Skins. But 'twould have been of but little service had Mr Portlock even gone to Nootka this last

year, at least if his purpose had only been to collect skins, he was too late, for, this last season of their being on the Coast, there was a Ship in Nootka call'd the Imperial Eagle commanded by a Mr Berkely[43] from Ostend under Imperial Colours who procured in that Sound and its neighborhood (for he went no further to the Nrd.) above a thousand Sea Otter Skins the greater part of which Mr Portlock might have had had he persever'd and gone into that place the first season.

Mr Berkly was by himself. He staid but one season on the Coast and went to China with the above cargoes.

The Trade at present is carried on chiefly between Columbia River in the Latitude of 46° and Cross Sound in the Lat. of 58 N though within that extensive range I believe the Queen Charlotte's Islands have furnished more skins than all other parts put together. Some are collected in Admiralty Bay in about the Lat: 59° but to the Nrd. of that the Russians monopolize everything and are making rapid strides to the S. every year. Skins may be got to the S. of Columbia River but the Indians there are few and the places of shelter for shipping likewise as few.

Besides Fire Arms; Woollens & Warm Cloathing are in general request all over the American Coast as also Cooking Kettles, Copper *in Sheets* no farther than 53 Lat: but as we shall make some progrses next year to the Nd. I shall here close the subject & resume it when we get there.

END

[43]See note 7 for reference to proper spelling—Barkley. The captain's visit is commemorated by the name of Barkley Sound on the western shore of Vancouver Island.

BOOK REVIEWS

ALASKA, ITS MEANING TO THE WORLD, ITS RESOURCES, ITS OPPORTUNITIES. By Charles R. Tuttle. (Seattle. Franklin Shuey and Company, 1914. Pp. 318. $2.50.)

This is a new addition to the literature pertaining to Alaska and is chiefly a compilation of statistics and quotations from reports of the government and other sources. The author does not claim to present new historical or statistical material. It is valuable as a collection of material in one volume which otherwise would require the searching of many separate records. He has drawn from the reports of the Geological Survey, the Agricultural Department bulletins, the reports of the Governor of Alaska, the Road Commission Reports and other publications, both public and private.

An optimistic view of the future of the transportation and commerce of the Pacific Northwest is followed by a valuation of past production, present output, and future possibilities of the mines, fisheries, forests, agriculture, etc., of Alaska. A large portion of the work is devoted to the history of the Government Railway legislation and the means by which it was brought about. A statement of the policy proposed by the Administration at Washington occupies much space.

The views advanced on the form of government adapted to the Territory are not those of one who has been a resident of Alaska and who expects to live there.

At times it is difficult to be sure whether the book is describing Alaskan matters, or is eulogising Seattle, its interest in Alaska, and its future prospects.

His conclusions, while giving a seemingly exaggerated estimate of the possibilities of the country in some lines, are generally very well justified and present a fairly good view of the value of the most northerly Territory of the United States. C. L. ANDREWS

SEVEN YEARS ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser and Hugh C. Fraser. (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. 1914. Pp. 391. Illus. 16. $3.00.)

"Seven Years on the Methow" would have been a more appropriate title for a book whose 400 odd pages are devoted to a description of life in a tiny frontier village situated on the Methow River a few miles

above its junction with the Columbia, in Okanogan County, Washington. Isolated by mountain ranges and reached only by difficult roads, remote valleys like the Methow have developed slowly and still retain picturesque aspects of frontier life. Of these the authors have made the most. The book is composd largely of anecdotes, some of them of a very trivial nature. A good idea is given of the life of the people, but it could have been done as well in half the space. Sidelights are thrown upon the development of the region during the years from 1905 to 1912.

The book has little of direct historical value. Its excellence consists in the vividness of its description and power to make the reader feel that he has lived in the Methow. CHRISTINA DENNY SMITH.

FREMONT AND '49. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. Pp. 547. $4.50.)

John Charles Frémont has been a hazy and unwelcome figure in the history of the West. There have been many reasons for this. The rugged land of mountains, plains, mines and forests has stood for fair play above all else and yet most western men shrug their shoulders at the mention of Frémont's name. Probably every person who reads these words will at once conjure up one or more reasons for entertaining a feeling of resentment. The author of the present volume frankly acknowledges that he had similar notions when he began his studies. These he has overcome and not only that he has become convinced that Frémont is one of America's most interesting characters and a true gentleman through all the dramatic epochs of his life.

Frémont started to give his own account of his life, but for some unknown reason only one volume was published. In Mr. Dellenbaugh's large volume we have an ample biography and much more. The author was with Major Powell in the famous Grand Canyon expedition and has shown his familiarity with, and love for, the West by his former books. He has brought this experience to the present task and we have ample opportunity to discern the many bearings of Frémont's work.

The frank discussion of Frémont's faults, the tracing in sympathetic lines the young man's drifting toward his life work, the explanation of his candor toward Kit Carson and other real pathfinders, all these give us a more real and more honest character than we have known heretofore under the name of Frémont.

Mr. Dellenbaugh has done his work well. He has produced a valuable book of the keenest interest. It will undoubtedly have a far reach in its readjustment of Frémont's position in history.

The book is beautifully printed and carries a wealth of illustrations. There are fifty-nine half-tones and maps besides the quaint head- and tail-pieces drawn by the author.

All in all it seems as though this book is sure to meet a cordial reception in the West. EDMOND S. MEANY.

STORY OF THE SESSION OF THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE OF 1913. By Franklin Hichborn. (San Francisco, The James H. Barry Company, 1913. Pp. 367. $1.50.)

This is the third review of California legislative sessions written by Mr. Franklin Hichborn. As in the volumes for 1909 and 1911, the primary purpose of the author has been to give a straightforward account of the action taken by the legislature upon the important issues of the session. The record of each senator and assemblyman is given on all important measures but the reader is allowed to draw his own conclusion as to whether that record is good or bad. The volume for 1913 is of particular interest because in addition to presenting the record of legislators, it discusses the working of the new legislative system then in operation for the first time. The author clearly indicates the weaknesses of the new system and shows how these have been discovered by new lobbyists who have taken the places of deposed bosses. Mr. Hichborn has performed a public service of immeasurable value. A similar volume for the State of Washington would be a most desirable contribution to present politics and future history.

LIST OF REFERENCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE WEST. By Frederick Jackson Turner. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915. Pp. 133.)

In this revised edition the pamphlet is more useful than ever to students of the West. The far Northwest is well represented in the citations to the publications of the historical societies and to books devoted to this section. Recent works cited show how well the list has been brought down to date.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914. Vol. 4, 1811-1813. Pp. 541. $3.50 net.)

The three former volumes of this serise have been noticed in previous issues of this Quarterly. Readers in the Pacific Northwest will find

the next volume of especial interest as it will surely cover the treaty of Ghent and the beginning of this century of peace in the early parts of which the Oregon Question was prominent.

THE MOUNTAINEER. Edited by Effie Louise Chapman. (Seattle, The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1914. Pp. 104. Illustrated. 50 cents.)

This annual report of The Mountaineers is called Volume VII. It gives an account of the club's work for the year 1914, including full records of the outings on Mount Stuart in the Cascades and in Glacier National Park in Montana. Much of the park lies on the western slope of the old Rocky Mountain boundary and was thus once a part of Old Oregon and of Washington Territory (from 1853 to 1863). The pictures and descriptive articles give the book a permanent value.

MAZAMA. Edited by E. C. Sammons. Portland, Oregon, The Mazamas, 1914. Pp. 136.)

While this book is called Volume IV, Number 3, of the publications by The Mazamas, it really marks the twentieth year of the existence of that interesting mountain club. The book is twice the size of any of its predecessors and is packed with beautiful pictures and valuable articles about the wonderful mountains of the Pacific Northwest. Last year's outing was devoted to Mountain Rainier so that peak receives most attention. Other articles, however, help to widen the value of this important addition to the literature of the western mountains.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings of the meeting held in Boston, April 8, 1914. New series, Volume 24, part 1. (Worcester, Mass. The Society, 1914. Pp. 215.)

AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Journal, Volume 13, 1914. (New York, Society, 1914. Pp. 402.)

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, No. 22. (Published by the Society, 1914.) Pp. 286. $2.50.)

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Index to the Publi-

cations, Numbers 1-20. (Published by the Society, 1914. Pp. 587. $3.50.)

American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. Nineteenth Annual Report, 1914. (Albany, Lyon, 1914. Pp. 744.)

Illinois State Historical Library. List of Genealogical publications in the Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. (Springfield, State Historical Library, 1914. Pp. 163.)

Innes, Arthur D. History of England and the British Empire. To be complete in four volumes. Volumes 1 and 2 have been noted in previous issues of this Quarterly. Volume 3, 1689-1802. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1914. Pp. 550. $1.60.)

Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings, volume 47, 1913-1914. (Boston, Society, 1914. Pp. 554.)

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Collections, Volumes 37, 38, 1909-1910, 1912. (Lansing, 1910-1912, State Printer.)

Nelson, William, Editor. Documents relating to the Revolutionary history of the State of New Jersey, Volum e4. Extracts from American Newspapers relating to New Jersey, Nov. 1, 1799, to Sept. 30, 1780. (Trenton, State Printer, 1914. Pp. 738.)

Thallon, Ida Carlton. Readings in Greek history, from Homer to the battle of Chaeronea. (Boston, Ginn, 1914. Pp. 638. $2.)

United States Catholic Historical Society. Historical Records and Studies, Volume 6, June, 1914. (New York, The Society, 1914. Pp. 244.)

Wayland, John W. How to Teach American History, a Handbook for Teachers and Students. (N. Y., Macmillan, 1914. Pp. 349. $1.10 net.)

The History of Wyoming. By C. G. Contant. (Laramie, Wyoming, Chaplin, Spofford & Mathison. Pp. 712.) A more extended notice will be given in the next issue.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association

The eleventh annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on November 27 and 28. The programmes were interesting and included the following:

Friday afternoon—"English Royal Income in the Thirteenth Century (from an unpublished manuscript)" by Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University; "Japanese Naturalization and the California Anti-Alien Land Law," by Professor Roy Malcolm of the University of Southern California; "The Anglo-Saxon Sheriff," by Professor William A. Morris of the University of California.

Friday evening—The Annual Dinner, Professor Ephraim D. Adams of Stanford University, presiding. The President's Address: "Name of the American War of 1861-1865," was delivered by Professor Edmond S. Meany of the University of Washington. There followed a series of a dozen short, interesting addresses by representative men and women.

Saturday morning—"Election Maps of the United Kingdom," by Professor Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford University; "Chinese Trade and Western Expansion" by Professor Robert G. Cleland, of Occidental College; "The Components of History," by Professor Frederick J. Teggart of the University of California.

At the business session Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California was elected to serve as president for the year 1915.

Saturday afternoon—Teachers' Session. "Hgih School Courses in European History" 1. A Two-Year Course: a 10th Grade by Miss Grace Kretsinger of the Berkeley High School; b. 11th Grade by Miss Elizabeth S. Kelsey of the Berkeley High School; 2. A One-Year Course in General History by Miss Anna Frazer, vice-principal of the Oakland High School. Discussion led by W. J. Cooper, vice-principal of the Berkeley High School.

The convention sent a telegram of encouragement to Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, who was in the East arranging for the meeting of the American Historical Association to be held in San Francisco during the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

Oregon Historical Society

At the annual meeting held in Portland on December 19 the following officers were elected: President, Frederick V. Holman; vice-president,

Leslie M. Scott; secretary, Professor F. G. Young; treasurer, Edward Cookingham; dirctors, Leslie M. Scott and Charles B. Moores. The principal address of the meeting was delivered by Thomas W. Prosch of Seattle. His subject was "The Indian Wars of Washington Territory." The press comments on the address indicate that it was worthily presented and the speaker was unanimously thanked by the society.

President Holman spoke briefly on the great need of a permanent home for the society's valuable collections.

Northwestern Tribute to Three Diplomats

Historians in the Pacific Northwest have known that the contest usually called the "Oregon Question" by which soverignty in this region was determined hinged most upon the diplomatic achievements of three great Americans—John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin. The long series of events so important in this regard began with the Treaty of Ghent in the negotiations for which it was conceded that Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River, should remain American no matter what had happened there during the War of 1812. The three named of the five negotiators continued their work for the Oregon country throughout their lives.

The Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, marked the beginning of the century of peace between the United States and Great Britain. This great event was to have been celebrated throughout the Union but President Wilson asked that such celebration be deferred on account of the war in Europe. His request was complied with, except for the tribute paid to the memory of the three American diplomats by the Pacific Northwest.

While serving as President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History in the University of Washington, took it upon himself to represent the historians of the Pacific Northwest in arranging for this tribute. Three large wreaths of evergreens from the forests of this "Oregon Country" were prepared and sent, one to the grave of each of the three great peace makers.

Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and editor of the works of John Quincy Adams now being published, took charge of the ceremony which was held in First Church, Quincy, Massachusetts, where John Quincy Adams lies buried. The pastor, Rev. A. L. Hudson, entered into the plan with zest. The President of the Massachusetts Historical Society is Charles Francis Adams. He did not feel at liberty to take the initiative to honor the memory of his grandfather

with a public ceremony, but he was pleased that a dignified memorial was sent across the continent. Brooks Adams, another grandson of John Quincy Adams, writes: "Although the ceremony was short and extremely simple, it seemed to me to be in admirable taste and of much dignity, and both the address of presentation by Mr. Ford, and that of acceptance by Mr. Hudson, the pastor, were excellent. Speaking personally, as the representative of my family at the ceremony, I wish to convey to you their and my thanks for your recognition of the service which my grandfather rendered, on behalf of his country, one hundred years ago, and to express to you the satisfaction which all of us feel in receiving so appropriate a tribute from the extreme Northwest. The wreath was hung upon the monument to my grandfather in the church by the chairman of the Parish Committee."

Henry Clay lies buried at Lexington in his loved State of Kentucky. Professor James Edward Tuthill of the State University of Kentucky arranged the ceremony there. A surprising number of relatives of Mr. Clay responded to the occasion. An unusual snow storm prevailed but paths were dug to the tomb. In the chapel, Professor Tuthill delivered a brief but appropriate address, Dr. Edwin Muller offered prayer and the procession then proceeded to the tomb. When the door of the tomb was opened the descendants of Mr. Clay walked in and Master William Brock, great-great-grandson of Henry Clay, laid the memorial wreath upon the sarcophagus. Bishop Lewis W. Burton pronounced the benediction and the simple but dignified ceremony was ended.

Albert Gallatin's grave is in Trinity Churchyard, New York City. Snow was on the ground, it was cold and in the congested part of the metropolis the noise was too great for out-of-doors exercises. William A. Dunning, Professor of History in Columbia University, and former President of the American Historical Association, called a little meeting at the grave at 4 p. m. on December 24, to match the hour when the treaty was signed one hundred years before. With sincere expression of gratitude for the past and hope for the future the wreath was placed and the company went its way. Besides Professor Dunning, that company comprised the following historians: John Bassett Moore, formerly Assistant Secretary of State; Herbert L. Osgood, William R. Shepherd, David S. Muzzey, all of Columbia University; Livingston R. Schuyler, of the College of the City of New York; Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, and B. B. Kendrick and W. W. Pierson.

Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, of Harvard University, helped to complete arrangements for the several ceremonies, manifesting a kindly interest in all of them.

Meeting of the American Historical Association

The thirtieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association which was held in Chicago, December 29-31, was one of the most successful meetings ever held. Aside from the very excellent program and the opportunity to meet old friends and make new ones, interest was centered about two points. One was the proposal looking to the reorganization of the Historical Association and the other was the special meeting to be held in San Francisco, July 20-24, 1915. The movement for reorganization culminated in a passionate protest by Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, at the Charleston meeting in 1913. Following that meeting a number of letters appeared in the Nation relative to reorganization. The Committee on Nominations sent out a questionaire which was quite generally ignored by the members but the agitation continued despite the apparent indifference of many members. The reorganizers had a representative in the Council and the struggle went on until "the old guard," as it was called, gave way and reported in favor of a Committee on reorganization which is to complete a new plan of organization and report at the meeting to be held in Washington in December, 1915. Prof. H. Morse Stephens reported progress in preparing for the San Francisco meeting and was elected President of the Association for the new year. A special Committee was appointed to arrange a program for the special meeting and has as representatives of the Pacific Coast the following members,—Professors H. E. Bolton. Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, F. J. Teggert and P. J. Treat.

The Pacific Coast was represented at the Chicago meeting by three members, H. Morse Stephens and E. I. McCormac of the University of California, and Edward McMahon of the University of Washington.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earnings of credits toward a degree.]

XIII. The Land and Native Races of Washington

1. Boundaries and Areas.
   a. From 1853 to 1863.
      i. Included all of present area plus all of Idaho and western parts of Montana and Wyoming.
      ii. Creation of Idaho in 1863 gave Washington its present boundaries.
   b. Latitude: from 46 deg. to 49 deg.
   c. Longitude: from 117 deg. to 125 deg.
   d. Length from east to west about 360 miles.
   e. Width from north to south about 240 miles.
   f. Content: 69,180 square miles, or about 45,000,000 acres.
   g. Approximate division of acreage: timber land 20,000,000 acres; grain land, 10,000,000 acres; river valleys, 5,000,000 acres; mountains, 10,000,000 acres.
   h. Nearly 3,000 miles of shore lines.
   i. About 1,600 square miles of inside tide water.
2. Physical Features.
   a. Mountains.
      i. Cascade Range dividing the state.
      ii. Olympic Range along the coast.
      ii. Blue Mountains in southeast.
      iv. Okanogan Highlands in north.
      v. Individual peaks.
      vi. Fifty-seven peaks named and measured above 7,500 feet elevation.

b. Lakes.
   i. Lake Chelan, largest and deepest.
   ii. Lake Washington.
   iii. Medical Lake.
   iv. Lake Whatcom.
   v. Lake Kichelas.
   vi. Lake Wenatchee.
   vii. Rock Lake.

c. Rivers.
   i. Columbia, about half its length in Washington.
   ii. Snake, Walla Walla, Palouse, Okanogan, Methow, Spokane, Kettle, Yakima, San Poil, Wenatchee and others in Eastern Washington.
   iii. Nooksack, Skagit, Stillaguamish, Snohomish, Duwamish, Puyallup, Nisqually, Chehalis, Cowlitz, Lewis, Skokomish, Quinault, Quillayute and others in Western Washington.

d. Coulees.
   i. Grand Coulee.
   ii. Moses Coulee.

3. Native Races.

a. Prehistoric conditions and arts.
   i. "Bow and arrow" culture plane.
   ii. Linguistic stocks.
   iii. Implements and industries.

b. Legends and myths.

c. First contact with the white people.
   i. Great desire for iron and copper.
   ii. Ready traders with furs.

d. Treaties with the white men.
   i. Ten treaties made by Governor Stevens.
   ii. Other arguments.

e. Wars.
   i. Outbreak of 1855.
   ii. Steptoe's and Wright's campaigns.

f. Reservations.
   i. Three large reservations in Eastern Washington.
   ii. One large and fourteen smaller reservations in Western Washington.
   iii. Life on the reservation.
   iv. Indian schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The books here cited will be found easily accessible in most cases. In studying the Indians some difficulty will be encountered as to the scarcity of books. However, in many parts of the state information may be gleaned at first hands from officers of the reservations or from the Indians themselves. The zeal begotten of original research will richly repay all such efforts.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. See Volume XXXI, History of Washington, chapters IV, V, and VI. See also Volumes I to V, Native Races, using the index in Volume V.

GEOGRAPHIES. Most of the geographies used in the schools of Washington has supplements devoted to the state. Henry Landes, Professor of Geology in the University of Washington, prepared such a supplement for Dodge's Geography.

HODGE, FREDERICK WEBB, EDITOR. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. This excellent work in two volumes was published by the Bureau of American Ethnology as Bulletin 30, Parts 1-2, in 1907-1910. The material is arranged alphabetically. Dependable, though brief, information may here be found on almost any subject relating to the Indians.

JUDSON, KATHARINE B. Myths and Legends of the Pacific Northwest. This book, one of a series, was published by A. C. McClurg & Co. of Chicago in 1910. The stories, obtained from a wide range of printed sources, are here re-written for young readers, though older students of the field will find them interesting.

LANDES, HENRY, State Geologist. Bulletins of the Washington Geological Survey. Here are a series of mongraphs and special studies on the geology and geography of Washington. They are published by the State and ought to be accessible in every considerable library. The titles, contents and indexes of the reports will guide any serious student in this field of investigation.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. See chapters I, VII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI. Here will be found information about the prehistoric conditions and about the Indian trade, treaties and wars.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. See pages 248-251 for a brief account of the Indian wars.

SNOWDEN, CLINTON A. History of Washington. See Chapters V, Native Races, using the index in Volume V.

STEVENS, HAZARD. Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens. This two-volume work contains much about the geography and Indians of Washington. Chapter headings and the index will guide the readers.

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

SOME REMARKS UPON THE NEW VANCOUVER JOURNAL

All readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly, but especially those who are interested in the approach by sea, must have enjoyed the "New Vancouver Journal." Their one regret will be that its publication has ended without giving us, at least Vancouver's return voyage to the coast in 1793; and their hope will be that the remainder, so far as it touches the Northwest coast, may yet see the light. Although Professor Meany has appended many interesting notes, which have added greatly to the reader's enjoyment and intelligent appreciation of the journal, yet the following remarks are offered on the assumption that a series of cross-references may be found useful, even to those who are well-acquainted with the sources. These notes relate to the instalments of the journal appearing in the issues of July 1914; October, 1914, and January, 1915.

Restoration Point was named on the 29th May, 1792 (see Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 153). The reference is, beyond question, to the restoration of Charles II, who landed at Dover on 25th May, 1660; yet, inasmuch as the 29th was his birthday, it was celebrated as Restoration Day. (See Pepys Diary, May 29, 1664, and May 29, 1665.) In the troubles of 1715, the students of Oxford wore, on the 29th May, the oak leaf in honor of the Stuart Restoration.

There is little doubt that the journalist's surmise that the natives in the vicinity of Vashon Island had had no direct dealings with the traders was correct. So far as the records at present available disclose Captain Gray in the *Washington* in March, 1789, marked the furthest advance of the trader within the straits of Fuca when he reached Clallam Bay. (See Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, p. 32.) In 1790 Quimper reached Port Discovery; in 1791 Elisa made his way into the Gulf of Georgia and examined its shores as far as Cape Lazo; but these were Spanish exploring expeditions. Vancouver's expedition appears to have been the first of any kind to enter Puget Sound.

The double allowance of grog (p. 216) was the regular concomitant of high days and holidays. It was served out, for instance, when Vancouver took possession at the end of his survey in August, 1794. (See

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Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 39.) Captain Dixon used it as an inducement to the sailors to desist from the usual horse-play on crossing the equator. (See Dixon's Voyage, Letter IX., p. 30.) Captain Portlock ordered it to be served on the occasion of the belated celebration of Christmas Day at the Falkland Islands. (See Portlock's Voyage, p. 33.)

Spruce beer (p. 217) was always regarded as a specific against scurvy, and its brewing was a regular thing on all properly equipped voyages. For this voyage Vancouver had requisitioned 280 pots of essence of spruce. (See Appendix to B. C. Archivists Report, 1914, p. 44.) Earlier voyagers, however, made the decoction—and a horrible one it appears to have been—direct from the trees themselves. Thus, as soon as Captain Cook had made his vessels secure in Nootka Sound, he set men "to brew spruce-beer, as pine-trees abounded here." (See Cook Voyage, third edition, Vol. 2, p. 273, and Kippis, Life of Cook, Vol. 2, p. 223.) Meares's reference to a decoction of pine tree juice which he found very efficacious in the treatment of the scurvy (see Introductory Voyage, p. xx.) is manifestly to this preparation. The brewing of spruce beer was one of the first duties ordered by Captain Dixon on his arrival on our coast. (See Dixon's Voyage, p. 151.) Captain Portlock was constantly at this work. (See his Voyage, pp. 215, 217, 231, 234, 235.)

The meeting between the Chatham's boats and the Spanish vessels, *Sutil* and *Mexicana* (pp. 219, 220), is thus given in the Viage, p. 48: "After leaving the channel [i. e., of Pacheco, between Lummi Island and the mainland] in the creek of Lara we saw two small boats, one with a sliding sail riggin, the other with square sail, which were following the coast to the north. We had no doubt that they belonged to the English vessels which were in the strait, according to the information of our friend Tetacus [the chief at Cape Flattery, otherwise Tatooche]. We went on without changing our course, thinking to navigate all night with little sail and be off the point of San Rafael [North Bluff] at daybreak, so as to get to the mouth of Florida Blanca [Fraser River] early in the morning, to go within and make the survey at once, which as has been said, we had reason to believe would be very interesting. From ten o'clock until midnight we crossed the creek Del Garzons [Birch Bay] and saw lights within it which indicated that the vessels to which the smaller boats belonged were in that anchorage." The Spaniards continued their course into Ensenada del Engano [Boundary Bay], but finding the water shoaling rapidly they anchored "in a line with the point of San Rafael [North Bluff] and the east point of the peninsula of Cepeda [Point Roberts]. The visit of the Chatham to the Spanish vessels at this point, of which our journalist gives us so many details, is merely mentioned by Vancouver in Vol. 2, p. 214.

The survey which Vancouver intended to carry on in conjunction with the Spaniards began at their meeting near Point Grey on Sunday, 24th June, and ended near Hardwicke Island on Thursday, July 12th. The portion from Point Grey to Jervis Inlet had, however, been already examined by Vancouver in his boats. Having reached the conclusion that the land on his port was an island, Vancouver was anxious to proceed to Nootka, and the joint survey was by mutual consent abandoned. Vancouver arrived at Nootka on August 28th, and the Spaniards two days later.

The very large village called by the natives Whanneck (p. 220) is that known to students of Vancouver's voyage as Cheslakee's village. It was situated on the Nimpkish River. The terraces on which the houses stood, as shown in Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 269, are still to be seen on the west bank of the river. The Indians now reside at Alert Bay, just opposite. (See Walbran's Place Names.) The journalist's name of the chief—Cathlaginness—does not much resemble Vancouver's form—Cheslakee—, but neither does the Spanish—Sisiaquis. Yet the spot is the same, as may be seen by comparison of the text with Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 268-274. In a letter from Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas to Captain Duntze of H. M. S. *Fisgard*, dated Fort Vancouver 7 September, 1846, they refer to the same locality as "Choslakers, latitude 50° 36′."

The journalist has no doubt that the port in which the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* anchored on 11th August, 1792, was Duncan's Port Safety in Calvert Island (p. 220). Vancouver, however, found the spot too greatly dissimilar to justify him in believing it to be Duncan's celebrated harbour, hence he called it "Safety Cove." (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 311 to 326.)

The vessel referred to as the "*Three Bs*" (pp. 223 and 301) is properly the *Three Brothers*. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 336, and Appendix to B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 28.) It is, nevertheless, strange that we find this ship mentioned in the Viage, p. 116, as "El Bergantin Ingles Tresbes." Vancouver states that there were on the stocks, when he arrived at Nootka in August, 1792, an English and an American shallop. The Viage on page 116 agrees with the journalist that the English one was brought out by the *Three Brothers*. The identity of the American was in doubt. We now know from the journal itself (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, pp. 54-5) that it was to be a tender to the *Margaret*. The name of one of the vessels under Mr. Alder is given in Vancouver's list—(see Archivist of B. C. Report, 1914, p. 28)—as the schooner *Prince William Henry;* the name of the other has not been ascertained.

The latitude at which the *Matilda* was wrecked, which the journalist leaves blank (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, p. 301) is given by Vancouver, Vol. 3, p. 66, where the story of the wreck is told, as 22° S., and Longitude 138° 30′ W. The journal names the master of the *Matilda* "Mr. Wetherell" and later "Mr. Wethered," while Vancouver calls him "Mr. Matthew Weatherhead." The *Daedalus* was, by Vancouver's instructions, to call at Otaheite on her return voyage to Australia and take on board the survivors.

The visit of Vancouver and Quadra to Maquinna at Tashees in September, 1792 (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, pp. 303-305), is mentioned by Vancouver in Vol. 2, pp. 354-356. The description in the journal is in very much greater detail than Vancouver gives either in his printed volume or in his report to the Admiralty, which will be found in the B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 19. In the former he speaks of the place as "Tasheis," in the latter as "Tasheer's." The suggestion is made in the note on page 305 that the journalist has omitted some such phrase as "for Seignor Quadra" in his reference to the gift of the second sea-otter skin. But we find that Vancouver in his description of the event (Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 356; B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 19) states categorically, as the journal does, that the two sea-otter skins were given to him. Perhaps Maquinna was wily enough to realize that Spain's sun had set.

The journalist says (October, 1914, p. 306) that Mr. Dobson, who acted as Spanish interpreter for Vancouver, was one of the mates of the *Daedalus;* but Vancouver, both in Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 339, and in B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 12, calls him "a young gentleman," and later (Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 347) "one of the midshipmen who came out in the *Daedalus*."

The expedition under Mr. Brown composed of the *Butterworth*, *Jackal*, and *Prince Lee Boo* (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, p. 307) appears to have been familiar to Vancouver, as well as to the writer of the journal. In the list of vessels on the coast in 1792, which Vancouver sent to the Admiralty by Lieutenant Mudge, he mentions these three vessels (B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, pp. 28, 29), yet he makes no reference to the arrival of the *Jackal* at Nootka on September 14th, 1792, or at all; at the same time that he was familiar with this vessel is plain from his reference to her upon her arrival at the Sandwich Islands in February, 1793—(see Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, pp. 198-9.) The Viage mentions the arrival at Nootka during the early summer of 1792, of the *Butterworth* and the *Prince Lee Boo*. The reference to the former, on page 116, is: "An English frigate of thirty guns named the *Butterworth*, Captain William Brown, that brought documents for Van-

couver and had orders to form two establishments on the coast and one on Queen Charlotte's Island." The latter is on the same page called "La Balandra Inglesa el Principe Leon." Vancouver met these three vessels in July, 1793, in the vicinity of Chatham Strait. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 4, pp. 112-121.) Brown on that occasion saluted with seven guns, which Vancouver duly returned with five. So valuable was the geographical information obtained from him that Vancouver named in his honour Brown Passage. The *Butterworth* sailed for England at the close of the season of 1793. In July, 1794, near Cross Sound Vancouver again met Brown, then in command of the remaining vessels, *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo*. Having just returned from China he imparted to Vancouver the latest European news, including that of the execution of Louis XVI and the declaration of war between France and England (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 5, p. 354.) In October, 1794, the *Jackal* arrived at Nootka on her return voyage to China with over one thousand prime sea-otter skins (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 91.) Brown was killed at the Sandwich Islands in January, 1795, in defending his vessel from an attack by the natives.

The journalist seems to have been better posted than Vancouver as to the *terminus ad quem* of the Hope's voyage when she sailed from Nootka about 19th September (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 52.) He tells us that she was bound for Neah Bay—the Nunez Gaona—of the Spaniards but Vancouver believed that she was "charged with Spanish dispatches respecting these transactions," i. e. relative to the delivery of the lands at Nootka. (See B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 26.) Later however, Vancouver learned the facts and mentions them. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 379-380.) The *Hope* had sailed from China in April, 1792, and on 3rd August, 1792, her commander, Captain Ingraham, had in conjunction with Captain Gray, given to Seignor Quadra the celebrated letter set out in Greenhow's Oregon, 1844 ed. p. 414.

The variance which the journalist notes (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 56) between the stories told by the masters and the crew as to the number of skins obtained was not confined to Captain Gray. Haswell complains of the lack of veracity in this respect. (See his log, Sept. 1788.) Dixon too notes the same peculiarity. (See Dixon's Voyage, Letter XXIX, page 157.)

The journalist merely mentions the fact that Lieutenant Mudge is being sent home by the *Fenis and St. Joseph* (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 56.) Vancouver's reason for this is given in B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 28. He thought that the Admiralty should know of the deadlock which had occurred between himself and

Seignor Quadra and determined to send his report of the negotiations by "the fastest and most expeditious conveyance." This report is printed with other papers in the appendix to the B. C. Archivist's Report for 1914, to which frequent reference has been made in these notes. It is strange that Vancouver and the journalist rarely agree upon the exact date. It would be tiresome to point out the discrepancies in this respect.

The *Jenny* of Bristol arrived at Nootka, according to the journal, on 6th October (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 57), according to Vancouver, on 7th October. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 387.) Although this vessel was supposed to sail from Nootka direct for England, Broughton found her in Baker's Bay on the Columbia in November, 1792; and she had been there earlier in the year (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 121.) Vancouver refers casually (vol. 2, p. 387) to the two Sandwich Island maidens whom he received from the *Jenny* for transportation to their homes; but in volume 3, page 381 *et seq.* he goes into the matter in great detail. They appear to have regarded their experiences as of such importance as to justify them in taking new names—Raheima and Tymarow. The Sandwich Islander mentioned by the journalist as already on Vancouver's ship was named Terrehooa. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 349.) The Jenny was on this occasion rigged as a three-masted schooner and commanded by Mr. Baker. In September, 1794, Vancouver met the *Jenny* once more, at Nootka; he describes her then as "a very small ship" commanded by Mr. Adamson, and tells us that during that season she had collected in the neighborhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands upwards of two thousand sea-otter skins. (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 90.)

The reference to Cook's bottle at Christmas Island (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 58) will be found in Cook's Voyage, 1785, 3rd ed. vol. 2, p. 186, under date 31st December, 1777. The inscription therein was:

"*Georgius Tertius, Rex*, 31 *Decembris*, 1777.

Naves

Resolution, Jack. Cook, Pr.

Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr."

Captain Cook also obtained at this island about three hundred turtles weighing from 90 to 100 pounds each.

Deception Bay—Meares's name for the entrance of the Columbia—is not, as the journalist states (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 59) in 42° 18′ N. According to Vancouver (vol. 2, p. 398) it is in 46° 20′ N. Meares made it "by an indifferent meridian observation" 46° 10′ N. (See Meares Voyage, Chap. XV., p. 167.)

Those who care to follow the story of the death of Messrs. Hergest

and Gooch (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 59) will find it in Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 3, pp. 160, 163, 307, 322, 341, and 343 to 346. These references also cover Vancouver's steps to obtain possession of some of the murderers, their trial, and execution.

The true position of the observatory at Friendly Cove (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 60) as given to me by the late Captain J. T. Walbran is 49° 35′ 31″ N. and 126° 37′ 32″ W. Haswell gives the position in his log as 49° 36′ N. and 126° 46′ W.

The animal from which a portion at least of the wool was obtained for the woolen garments (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 62) was a sort of dog. These dogs are described by Vancouver in his Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 130-131, as resembling somewhat those of Pomerania though larger; the fleeces, he says, were very compact and were composed of a mixture of a coarse kind of wool with very fine long hair. These dogs were also to be found on the mainland as the following quotation from Fraser's Journal of his descent of the Fraser River in 1808, shows. Speaking of the Indians near Yale he says: "They have rugs made from the wool of the Aspai or wild goat and from dogs' hair, which are as good as the wool rugs found in Canada. We observed that the dogs were lately shorn." (Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest, Vol. 1, p. 193.) See for a reproduction of the blanket and a description of the process of weaving,—Guide to the Anthropological Collection in Provincial Museum, B. C. pp. 50 to 53. This book also contains a reproduction of a picture by Paul Kane showing an Indian woman at work in blanket manufacture, and in the foreground, the dog from which the wool was obtained. It is, doubtless, this kind of blanket which is referred to in Work's Journal. (See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 3, p. 218.) This subject attracted the attention of Mr. John Keast Lord, F. Z. S., the naturalist attached to the British North American Boundary Commission, and in his well-known work, The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia, will be found (vol. 2, pp. 215-217) a lengthy discussion as to the origin of these dogs.

Upon the interesting question concerning the identity of the writer of this journal it is my intention to make some remarks, but as the present scrappy notes have reached a size far beyond my anticipations at the outset I refrain from entering upon that topic at this time.

F. W. Howay.

New Westminster, B. C.
February 27, 1915.

THE ORGANIZATION AND FIRST PASTORATE OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON*

The remark is not an infrequent one that "history repeats itself," meaning that the current events which go to make history occur again after an interval of time; this is true in a general sense but seldom in the exact or scientific meaning of the phrase. In the narration of history, however, there is necessarily some repetition, particularly that of a single institution or individual; and the narrative of the organization and life of the First Congregational Church of Walla Walla has been told before and cannot be changed materially in the retelling. But upon the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church it is very fitting that the story be repeated and memories refreshed as to the events of the past.

The honor of organizing the first protestant church in the County of Walla Walla is claimed by both the Congregationalist and the Presbyterian denominations. As an introductory chapter to the history of this particular church brief inquiry might be made concerning the growth of the religious idea in this Walla Walla Valley. It would be of some value to inquire whether, as stated by some, Capt. William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the years 1805-6 told the story of the divinity of Christ to the natives of the Shahaptin family of Indians hereabouts. It would be of interest to know the religious beliefs and influence, if any, of the various gentlemen fur traders of the Hudson Bay Company in charge of the commercial establishment known as Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River from the year 1818 on to 1856. It would be well, even if not profitable, to inquire as to the permanency of the missionary labors of Dr. Marcus Whitman, whose was the ruling mind in the first Protestant religious organization in this Valley at the Waiilatpu Mission on August 18th, 1838; and it would be courteous to mention the work of Father Chereuse, the Roman Catholic missionary who some years later followed Dr. Whitman as a resident religious teacher and erected the first building devoted to strictly religious work in the Valley. Mention of the religious teachings and visitations of Rev. Cushing Eells, one of the honored founders of this church, while a resident at the Whitman Mission Donation Land Claim six miles west of this city would complete the chapter, aside from some pertinent inquiry into any possible influence of his missionary associate, Rev. Henry H. Spalding, who came

*A paper read at the anniversary service on January 2nd, 1915.

to this valley about the same time as did Father Eells and made his home here for nearly three years, but seemingly was not active in religious work. In fact an entire paper might be written in answer to this inquiry.

The First Congregational Church of Walla Walla was formally organized on New Year's Day, 1865, but the proceedings on that day were merely the consummation of activities during the year 1864 by one man, Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, who came here from Portland, Oregon, in April, canvassed the field and made preliminary arrangements for the use of a building to preach in, then returned to Portland and again arrived here with his family the last of May, 1864. For the proper historic setting let us review briefly the conditions existing here in Walla Walla in this year 1864 when Mr. Chamberlain arrived.

Walla Walla in the spring of 1864 was enjoying or enduring, whichever may be the more proper word to express it, the sixth year of its existence as a community. It was then the most widely known and the largest city in the Territory of Washington; in fact retained that prestige until after 1880. This prominence then arose from its unique location with relation to the rich mining camps and districts that had developed along the streams and among the mountains of Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. With the discovery of gold in this interior country people (men, not women) hastened into it literally by the thousand, and many passed through Walla Walla along one of the main lines of travel. Walla Walla was an outfitting point for these mining camps and the trade center for all the small settlements that were taking form in what we now know as the Inland Empire. Pack trains outfitted here and wended their way to distant Montana and British Columbia, to the Clearwater and Salmon River Districts and the Boise Basin in Idaho, and some to the Powder River and Owyhee Districts in Southeastern Oregon. There were other outfitting points to be sure; The Dalles nearer to water navigation from Portland, Umatilla City or Landing, which in 1863 had as large a population as Walla Walla, and Lewiston, then the capitol of the Territory of Idaho; but Walla Walla was the favorite locality for returning miners and prospectors to spend the winter, because of its usually mild weather, favorable to the tent life and the miserable building protection of those days; because of its location in a fine agricultural valley where food was plentiful for man and beast; because of its military post and Indian agency, and its comparatively regular connection with the outer world.

Physically, in 1864, Walla Walla was a rambling collection of wooden shacks used for temporary living and business purposes. The residences were located within easy reach of, and for the most part to the south and west of its main thoroughfare, first known as Nez Perce street,

none of them constructed with a view to permanent convenience or comfort. Its business was practically confined to one long street lined with store buildings, which with four exceptions were all built of wood, nearly all of one-story in height, with walks of uneven grade along their fronts and street of miring mud or flying dust according to the weather. There has been exhibited recently a photograph of that Main Street taken during that very year, 1864, the oldest known photo taken during the frontier period, and the scene reproduced is certainly not artistic. You are not unfamiliar with the sight of a six -year-old urchin belonging to some unkempt family and permitted to play in the streets, with torn clothing, uncut hair and nails, begrimmed hands and face, and to such an urchin the six-year-old town (proudly labelled a CITY) of Walla Walla in 1864 may well be physically compared. The population of the city at that time was about three fourths of a thousand, and the southern or "secesh" sentiment was by no means small. That was the year before the close of the war between the states. The business done was very large in proportion to the population, because so much of it was with mining camps and outside communities.

Morally, Walla Walla in 1864 was quite low down the scale of civilization. The town was overrun with thieves, gamblers and women of the demi-monde, particularly during the winter months when this class of humanity flocked here from the larger cities of Portland and San Francisco. "The hounds are coming" was the common street parlance when they began to arrive, for the purpose of course of reaping their annual harvest from the reckless prospectors or miners. Business houses kept their doors open on the Sabbath as on the other six days of the week and the saloons and gambling houses flourished without restraint. Shooting and death were not uncommon events and attracted very little attention. Walla Walla was as lively and wide-open a town then as the frontier West has often produced. This is partially explained by the fact that there were very few families here then.

Educationally and religiously Walla Walla in the Spring of 1864 offered little attraction as a home for a new comer. There was no public school house here then and the instruction of the children was by itinerant teachers in rented rooms without prescribed course of study. There was a county school tax and a superintendent, but the county then embraced all of the Territory of Washington lying south of Snake River, (Asotin, Garfield, Columbia and Walla Walla counties of today) and the few school houses (of log construction) were located in the outside farming communities. The school money available for Walla Walla was turned over to one of the itinerant teachers, who gave instruction free as long as it lasted and then charged a tuition fee for the remainder of the year.

These were called "subscription schools," and the highest attendance reported then was about seventy-five.

As to churches the pioneer sects, Methodists and Roman Catholics, had been organized almost from the beginning of things here in 1859, the latter earliest perhaps because of their friendly relations with the Indians through the residence of Father Chereuse on what came to be known as the St. Rose Mission southwest of the city in 1853-4-5. Catholic services were then being held by Father J. B. A. Brouillet in a building upon the same block now used by that sect, and earlier than that services had been held, I am told, in a very temporary structure built of slabs without floor, and with a roof of poles and shakes, that stood at the corner of Third and Birch Streets, adjoining what was then the burying ground in Walla Walla. The Methodists (Father Berry first pastor, followed by Rev. John Flynn but just then without a resident pastor) owned and worshipped in a small building upon what is now the corner of Alder and Fifth Streets, nearly opposite the Hall of Records on the Court House Square. There were, as has been said, very few families then living in Walla Walla proper. The men of family were more generally scattered through the Valley engaged in farming and stock raising. Church attendance was very, very small. Into this kind of a community then about the 1st of June, 1864, with his family and library, came Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, from Portland, Oregon, where he had been residing without pastoral charge for two years following a service of four years in the pulpit of the First Congregational Church of that city, and proceeded individually to the work of organizing a church. It should be plainly understood that Mr. Chamberlain came upon his own initiative, without any call from church members residing here, without the promise of missionary aid, without even the good will of many of the church he served in Portland, at his own risk and with only such means as he obtained from the sale of his property in Portland. He had literally burned his bridges behind him. Rev. Cushing Eells, familiarly called Father Eells, who had resided on the Whitman Donation Land Claim continuously since the spring of 1861 and during two summers prior to that, knew of the troubles in the church at Portland and he did not invite Mr. Chamberlain to come, although joining heartily in the work with him when here; but Rev. G. R. Atkinson, then the pastor at Oregon City, and Mr. Chamberlain's successor at Portland, had in 1863 temporarily joined the army of gold hunters and spent a summer in the mining district of Idaho and had passed through Walla Walla both going and returning and probably had made some suggestion in the matter. However, here arrived Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, in the fortieth year of his age, in full vigor of mind although of rather frail body, a keen thinker and writer, well educated, fearless in

speech, well informed on the topics of the day, determined to organize a church of the Congregational form of government in the semi-Godless city of Walla Walla.

The progress of events connected with the organization during the seven months remaining of the year 1864 can be told in a very few words. The rented building used by the county for a court house had been burned during the brief period of Mr. Chamberlain's absence in Portland and he found himself without any hall in which to preach. The "Washington Statesman" printed on June 3rd, 1864, contains the follow item: "New Church—Rev. P. B. Chamberlain (Congregationalist) has purchased the building known as Ryan's Hall at the upper end of the city and intends to fit it up as a church. Mr. C. has brought his family with him and intends to locate permanently here." Ryan's Hall was a one story saloon and dance hall standing in what is now First street between Main and Alder, and later in the same summer seems to have been purchased by the city council in order to open First street for travel. Mr. Ryan is mentioned soon after as one of the purchasers of the famous Stone and Ball's Saloon further down the street. This purchase by Mr. Chamberlain, if ever completed, does not appear to have been used by him. The necessity for an income upon which to live, combined with the evident lack of school facilities, caused him to change his plans to meet the existing conditions. With his good wife as assistant, he planned to start a "subscription school" and negotiated the purchase from Mr. B. N. Sexton of two lots and a small house situated on the North side of what is now Rose street, just in the rear of the present commodious corner house (occupied now by Mrs. Thompson), at the corner of Second and Rose Streets, which you pass every day in taking your constitutional to and from the present post office building. Just beyond this corner residence will be noticed a smaller dwelling, which has been added to and repaired in many ways, but in its original form stood upon that corner lot, and was one of the best residences in Walla Walla in 1864, built by Mr. I. T. Reese and by him sold to Mr. J. H. Blewitt. The small shed or stable in the rear of this residence was the building which was set on fire on July 11th, 1868, and brought seeming calamity to the existence of this church, as will be later mentioned.

The Sexton dwelling was one of the half dozen houses then standing on the northerly side of Mill Creek near Second Street. It was at once refitted by Mr. Chamberlain for the use of his family. But upon the vacant lot toward the Blewitt house he at once erected at his own expense a one story frame building forty feet long by twenty-six feet in width, enclosing one room suitable for both religious and educational purposes. This was finished sufficiently for school use by the first of September, and

fitted with benches, desk and a small melodion for church use by November, and a formal service of dedication was held in it on the 13th of November, 1864, and in that building the First Congregational Church was formally organized and the first communion administered on the first of January, 1865, which event we now celebrate. When the building was entirely completed, six months later, the following entry appears on the records of the church; "By the time this was done I had expended of my own means in all $3500.00, the church and lot costing about $2300.00. So it now stands consecrated to God, as all property should be. I leave it to Him to be refunded or not as He may at some future time move the hearts of the children of men to desire to do. Walla Walla, W. T., June 29, 1866, P. B. Chamberlain." In sorrow be it said that in actual money this was never repaid to him.

It was P. B. Chamberlain who sounded the strong note of belief in God and of punishment for sin and of Sabbath observance and kindred themes and stirred the people to think seriously of their responsibility to a Divine Being. He made it both interesting and profitable in Walla Walla to attend divine worship. And when on the 11th of January, 1868, scarcely two and a half years after its erection, this little church was burned to the ground through the carelessness of some boys with firecrackers, the men of the street without regard to race (there were quite a number of Jews in business in Walla Walla then), avocation or religious belief, spontaneously dug down into their bags of gold dust and subscribed nearly four thousand dollars toward the purchase of a lot and erection of a new church building, so that the church records again read under date October 12th, 1868, scarcely three months after the fire: "New church dedicated yesterday, in all respects a fine building, costing in all, including lot, grading, fence, sidewalk, stoves, furniture & organ, about $4,700." And this was the building which so many years occupied the now vacant lot on Second street at the corner of Rose street, and which has been the scene of many events precious to the memory of the more recent membership of the church, and in which the funeral services of Mr. Chamberlain himself were held in November, 1889. This building has been moved and now stands facing Division street at the corner of Isaacs Avenue, and is known as Olivet Church, and used for Sunday school purposes. It has been remodeled to some extent, but when erected was the largest church building in the city, and during later years Father Eells presented the bell which hung in the tower. Both the earlier building and this one were known to many as "Chamberlain's Church" rather than the Congregational church and many of those who donated to help build it expressed their objection to having the lot conveyed to the

corporate body of the First Congregational Church, but considered their donation as personal to Mr. Chamberlain.

The organization of the ecclesiastical society or corporate body composed of the male members of the church came as a direct result of this new building, and in the following manner. The church building committee, together with the committee of citizens which raised most of the money, found that not enough had been subscribed to pay the entire cost. Rather than have bills outstanding Dr. D. S. Baker, one of the leading merchants then, paid the deficit and carried it on his books for a time, but very rightly insisted that the church become legally organized, so as to take title and assume the legal liability for its acts. This was done in January, 1869; the incorporators were Cushing Eells, John B. Stowell, Geo. W. Somerindyke, Robt. Thompson, P. B. Chamberlain and Edwin Eells. The note given for this indebtedness of between four and five hundred dollars was later taken off Dr. Baker's hands by another person, but was not entirely paid until after Mr. Cobleigh took the pasotrage in 1882. Another item of interest in this connection is that the lot was purchased from A. Kyger and I. T. Reese, dealers in general merchandise at the corner of Second and Main streets (the present location of the Farmers' Savings Bank), and the term general merchandise in those days covered a multitude of sins, including whiskey, rum, etc.; and the "wet goods" of this firm were kept in a wooden warehouse upon this lot, which was in the rear of their store, across the creek, accessible first by foot log and later by foot-bridge. The owners of pack trains in those days often did not patronize livery stables, but camped along Mill Creek when in town, and this warehouse was very handy for their loading. This trade was mostly wholesale, and it is not to be inferred by anyone that the chief clerk of that firm, who is now one of the honored members of this church and who has already related so vividly how he used to deal out Chili beans and Chili peaches and bacon and coffee as a balanced ration for miners, and purchased lard weighing nine and a half pounds to the can, had anything to do with retailing any of those "wet goods."

It has been already said that Mr. Chamberlain had a keen mind and was a scholarly and ready speaker and fearless in his denunciation of wrong as he saw it; and there was plenty of that to be seen here. He began to preach as soon as he arrived in June, 1864, at the Methodist Church and elsewhere as he could until the completion of his building, and from then in his own "little church around the corner." His was a new voice in Walla Walla and his example a new method of religious influence. The school opened an entrance into some families through the children and the investment of his own funds in the building attracted others, and his personal work with hammer and saw and paint brush attracted the

notice of still others, and these activities with such scholarly ability and orthodox preaching often filled his little church from the very beginning. The business men of the street without regard to religious sentiment went to listen to him, gamblers and bar-keepers at times occupied the front benches and took their own denunciations with a smiling face and without resentment, and whether his able preaching was responsible for it or not, it is a historic fact that beginning with 1865-6 the city of Walla Walla began to clean up. The merchants got together and voted to close their stores on Sundays, at least the front doors, the law and order people of the valley determined that horse and cattle thieving should cease and vigilance committees were formed which did a quiet but effective work, and while it is certain that Mr. Chamberlain did not believe in lawless methods of punishment it is also an admitted fact in the family that the youngest charter member of this church was active in some of the work of that vigilance committee, though probably not in the more prominent acts which took place under the limb of a certain cottonwood tree along Second street south of the city. The church standing across Mill Creek, which for a time could only be reached by a foot-bridge, was in very fact THE church in Walla Walla. It was the proper thing in Walla Walla for several years to attend "Chamberlain's Church," and his sermons were not uncommonly the topic of discussion during the week. In reply to some critic in the East who was attracting considerable attention at the time, he delivered a series of sermons upon Moses and the prophets of Israel which are well remembered by those who listened to him. The writer of this paper, in connection with two others acting as a committee of pulpit supply in the emergency in the Spring of 1887, invited Mr. Chamberlain to occupy his old pulpit for several Sabbaths, and out of abundant caution the suggestion was put forth that the new comers would like very much to hear those sermons upon Moses and the prophets. He accepted the invitation and the powerful depiction of the lawgiver as a dispenser of strict justice but yet of justice tempered with mercy still remain in the memory.

Mr. Chamberlain's popularity and influence in the pulpit obtained for about six years, and until he began a series of sermons attacking secret societies in general and free masonry in particular. Among the relics in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland is a gold headed cane bearing the name of Amory Holbrook, one of the leading attorneys in that city during the fifties, and presented to him in recognition of his defence of free masonry against the attacks of P. B. Chamberlain. These sermons had been delivered in Portland and had resulted in the division of the church there but in spite of that experience they were delivered here. The defence here fell to an active lawyer and politician named N. T. Caton and more than ever were Mr. Chamberlain's discourses a subject

for heated discussion around the stoves in stores and offices in Walla Walla. These led to estrangements which seriously affected the life of this church and many of its strong supporters then withdrew and organized the Episcopal church and the Cumberland Presbyterian church. That was in the year 1872 and in the fall of that year he tendered his resignation, which was accepted, but he was asked to continue to fill the pulpit and did so until the year 1879, when the church was closed. There is little that occurred during those years which it would be profitable to mention now. The church remained closed until the coming of Rev. N. F. Cobleigh in 1882. As far as membership indicates progress the growth of this church during the pastorate of P. B. Chamberlain was both slow and small. At the service of organization fifty years ago only seven persons comprised the list of charter members. Those seven were Mr. Chamberlain and his wife, Rev. Cushing Eells and his wife and son, and J. W. McKee and his wife. The last named was a man beyond middle life who was here for a few years in charge of the general merchandise store of Mr. J. C. Isaacs; he had been connected with the Congregational churches at San Francisco and at Portland. All of these persons were devout Christians and individually had very little need of a church organization; but no others were found to join them. During the remainder of the year 1865 only four more persons were received into membership; during the year 1866 only five; during 1867 only six; during 1868 five, during 1869 three, during 1870 three; and so on. During the entire fifteen years of Mr. Chamberlain's ministry only sixteen members were taken into the church by profession of their faith in God, and at the close of his ministry the names of about twenty remained on the roll. Those were, to be sure, days of congregations rather than communicants, but his influence was of another sort. He set people to thinking about God, and was universally respected by those who knew him as a man who carried his beliefs to a great length but himself honestly lived up to those beliefs. He practiced what he preached, and he would do so if living today.

It is not to be assumed from this narrative that the organization of this church or the personal influence of its founder was the only or entire cause of the vigilante movement in this valley, or that the City of Walla Walla immediately thereafter became a highly moral community without saloons, gambling devices or other evils. The latter is still "a consummation devoutely to be wished." But there were many people here then of excellent character whose moral or religious instincts were strong but who partook of their frontier environment, and who needed to be stimulated to assert themselves. And the clear, fearless and forcible preaching of Rev. P. B. Chamberlain, who was of Puritan stock, was born and educated in New England, and had come far from what would seem to have been his nat-

ural sphere of activity, in this the First Congregational Church in the State of Washington as well as in the City of Walla Walla, contributed much to that end and to the solid foundations of the commercial, educational and religious life of this city today. T. C. ELLIOTT.

FROM SALEM, OREGON, TO SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, IN 1859

Approximately six years have passed since arriving in Oregon and the lad of fifteen years has, so he thinks, become a man, having recently passed his twenty-first birthday, and is now looking for "new worlds to conquer."

Filled with bright anticipations of future success, no thought of possible failure ever entered his mind.

Perhaps more for the love of adventure than anything else, I had made up my mind to quit the Willamette Valley, with all of its wonderful attractions—climate, soil, snow capped mountain peaks, and whence flowed many sparkling streams; to sever the fond associations of home and the ties of newly made friendships and to launch out into new and untried fields.

My home life had been as happy, perhaps more so, than that of the average person just entering upon young manhood. However, "The Home Sweet Home" idea seemed to me to contain more of fiction than of fact. I had yet to learn how "dear to the heart are the scenes of our childhood when fond recollection presents them to view."

If the boys and the girls, the young men and the young women of today, could be made to fully realize that "There is no place like home," there would be fewer sad hearted Fathers and weeping Mothers. However, it seems to be the lot of man to learn many of life's most important lessons by sad experience.

While I look back with much pleasure upon the years spent in Oregon, I am glad I cast my lot upon the shores of Puget Sound—The Mediterranean of America.

I think perhaps I had not been fully weaned from the life of adventure incident to six months spent upon the Great Plains among the Indians, the buffalo, the antelope and the bands of semi-wild horses, and that this may have had more or less to do with my determination to leave Oregon, without having any very definite idea as to where I might finally locate.

From this growing inclination to wander on, to try new and unexplored fields, my Father sought to dissuade me, suggesting farm life as the safe and sane life for me. This suggestion of my dear old Father did not appeal to me as he had hoped it might. Seeing therefore that I had made up my mind to go, Father gave me his blessing and advised me to join a party then being made up in that vicinity bound for Seattle, a small and insignificant village of about one hundred inhabitants (within the

then incorporated limits of the town), located on the east shore of Elliott Bay, an arm of Puget Sound. Inasmuch as my sister Loretta had but recently married Judge Thomas Mercer, a resident of Seattle, and one of the party referred to, I readily fell in with the suggestion, and August the 29th, 1859, found me one of this party of twelve persons bound for Seattle.

This party was composed of the following named persons, to-wit: Judge Thomas Mercer and his wife, Hester Loretta Mercer (nee Ward); Hon. John Denny, his wife and daughter Loretta; James Campbell and his wife with their two sons and two daughters, Rice, Findlay, Virginia and Susie, and myself.

John Denny, "Uncle" John Denny, as we all loved to call him, was the Father of A. A. Denny and D. T. Denny, both of them residents of Seattle, where they had arrived November 13, 1851, landing at that time at Alki Point, where they spent the Winter.

The first night from home, which was near the Pringle school house, three miles south of Salem, was spent at the Campbell homestead, in the Waldo hills, seven miles southeast of Salem; from whence, early the next morning, the party with wagons, teams, loose stock—most of the latter being the property of Judge Mercer—made the final start for Seattle.

I had in my care on this trip for sale, a number of work oxen belonging to my Father and my half brother B. S. Ward. These I disposed of at a fair price, sending the proceeds of the sale to "The folks at home," care of the purser of a steamer bound from Puget Sound to San Francisco. This steamer never reached port, going down somewhere off the Oregon coast with all on board. This money was sent in this round about way, because there was an express from the Sound country to San Francisco, thence to Portland, Oregon, and on up the Willamette Valley to Salem, but no express overland from Seattle to Portland, Oregon. This money was a loss severely felt by my home people.

Our party of twelve persons were seventeen days in making the trip from the home near Salem to Seattle, much of the way over a very rough road, in many places little more than a trail. People of today who travel on well equipped trains, making the run from Seattle to Portland in six hours and passing enroute prosperous towns and cities, can hardly realize that where these now are, there was then the dense forest all unoccupied except by wild beasts and roving Indians.

Salem, the capital of Oregon, had not to exceed one thousand inhabitants. Hon. Arthur A. Denny, in "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound," gives the population of Portland in 1851 at 2,000, and says Portland

claimed 6,000 in 1853, which I think an over-estimate. Oregon City had not to exceed two hundred and fifty.

At Portland, wagons, teams, cattle and people shipped aboard a small steamer for Monticello, two miles above the mouth of the Cowlitz river, where we arrived after an all day's voyage down the Willamette and Columbia rivers. Monticello had a future, but being located upon ground liable to overflow, has since been abandoned.

Our route led us along up the Cowlitz river for some considerable distance, passing the homes of a number of early settlers, who had fairly well improved farms and who seemed to be leading prosperous and happy lives.

Along the line of our travel after leaving the Cowlitz river, at the Bishop homestead, we passed a number of settlers who had but recently returned to their homes, from which they had been driven by the Indians during the Indian War of 1855-6. All seemed happy and glad to resume life on the frontier, with all its duties and responsibilities.

At Arkansas (at Pumphrey's), on the Cowlitz river, near where the Olequa empties into the Cowlitz river, on Ford's Prairie, on the Grand Mound Prairie, on the Yelm, the old French Canadian settlement in the vicinity of Old Fort Nisqually (formerly the headquarters of the Hudson Bay Company north of the Columbia River), Bird's Mill, on the Puyallup River, and in the White River Valley, settlers were beginning to gather in considerable numbers.

At Bird's Mill, only a short distance from Fort Steilacoom, then a military post, we went into camp for a day, then into the town of Steilacoom; from whence, everything except the cattle was shipped to Seattle.

In company with Judge Mercer and the Campbell boys, I came through to Seattle with the cattle. Our first stop after leaving Bird's Mill was on the north side of the Puyallup river, at the home of a Mr. Carson and his wife, who were living in a block-house, built and occupied by the settlers for defensive purposes during the Indian war of 1855-6. Our party undertook to drive from Carson's to C. C. Lewis' place, on the Duwamish river in one day, but failed and were compelled, after traveling for an hour or two after daylight had left us, to stop for the night.

I unsaddled my horse and laid down under a cedar tree, using my saddle for a pillow and slept soundly until about daylight next morning, when I was awakened by rain falling upon my face. As soon as it was light enough to see, we gathered our scattered cattle together and, wet and cold, proceeded on our way to the Lewis home, where we waited while Mrs. Lewis prepared us a breakfast of hot biscuit and coffee, with ham and eggs, to which it is perhaps needless to say we did ample justice, having

had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, except a light pocket lunch at noon the day before. We were then nine miles from Seattle. We left our cattle three miles further on, with Walter Graham, arriving in Seattle early in the afternoon of September 14, 1859.

My first meal in Seattle was taken at the home of Mr. and Mrs. David T. Denny, who were then living in a small house on the south side of Marion Street, between what is now First and Second Avenues. I do not remember all we may have had for dinner that day, but I do remember the fine large baked salmon which graced the table, and how I relished this, my first introduction to salt water fish.

Of the people who were then living in Seattle, it may be truthfully said they were possessed in large measure with those qualities, intelligence, honesty, industry, and a spirit of independence and self reliance so essential to the founding of a great and growing community. There was an entire absence of the "wild and woolly west" spirit. The founders of Seattle were a law abiding and law enforcing people.

That the location at Seattle was no chance affair, but was made after careful and intelligent investigation, will appear from the following quotation from "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound," by Hon. Arthur A. Denny, wherein he says: "In the month of February we began exploring around Elliott Bay, taking soundings and examining the timber."

Acts of theft were few and far between, but when detected were promptly and adequately punished. Holdups and burglaries were unknown. The "clothes-line," with the Monday's washing thereon, might remain out all week with perfect safety. So the man who had located on a homestead and had commenced to improve the same, might leave his ax or saw at the place where he had discontinued his work at the end of the day with every assurance that he would find it where left whether his return was upon the next day or the next week.

One of the things which impressed me most soon after my arrival in Seattle, was that every one seemed to be busy—there were no idlers here, and consequently no beggars.

Hospitality and goodfellowship were proverbial. It was not an unusual thing for men in traveling the trails from one point to another to fail to reach their destination as expected, but as was usually true, all carried a box of matches and a rifle or revolver and when thus equipped felt perfectly safe though they might have to spend the night under the friendly shelter of some large fir tree.

In the early days, men sometimes ventured out some distance from the settlements and located upon homesteads, building their cabins and clearing the land, laying the foundation for peace and plenty in the declining years of life. These early settlers were almost without exception

unmarried men and were not always at home, being absent therefrom sometimes days and possibly weeks on business, but should the traveler come upon one of these isolated cabins as night was about to overtake him, it was a part of the unwritten law of the land that he might enter therein, making himself at home for the night, using whatever he might find there with which to make himself comfortable and, upon his departure next morning, leave a note of thanks therefor.

I sometimes feel as if I could almost wish for the return of the grand old pioneer days of sixty or more years ago.

Chief Seattle, for whom the town was named, was a square shouldered, deep chested, stockily built Indian, with a voice like a trumpet. I saw him upon one occasion when he was addressing a council of his people, at a point about where First Avenue intersects Yesler Way. His clothing at that time consisted of a pair of pants, a shirt and a rather heavy blanket thrown over his left shoulder and drawn around under his right arm and shoulder, where it was fastened, thus leaving the right arm free, which was frequently raised in gesticulation, while the left arm and hand seemed to rest loosely by his side.

As I have before stated, there were about one hundred white people in Seattle when I first arrived there September 14th, 1859, and about an equal number of Indians. As far as I am now able to remember, at this distant date, the following named persons were living in what is now the incorporated limits of the City of Seattle October 1st, 1859, namely:

Hon. Arthur A. Denny, wife and five children, who were then living in a small cottage on the east side of Front Street, now Frst Avenue, between Madison and Marion Streets.

D. T. Denny, wife and three children, who at that time occupied a small house on the south side of Marion Street between what is now First and Second Avenues.

Dexter Horton, wife and daughter, living in rooms back of the store then owned by Dexter Horton on or near the N. W. corner of Washington and Commercial Street, now First Avenue South.

Judge Thomas Mercer, wife (nee Ward), and his two daughters, Susie and Alice. The first named soon after married David Graham. Alice later on became the wife of C. B. Bagley, at present Secretary of the Board of Public Works of the City of Seattle. Their home was on the east side of old Commercial Street, now First Avenue South, sixty feet south of Washington Street.

L. M. Collins and family, then residing on the north bank of the Duwamish river, near where the present bridge crosses that stream.

John Denny, who with his wife and daughter arrived in Seattle

September 14th, 1859, occupied a small house on the east side of Front Street (now First Avenue), near Madison Street.

Henry L. Yesler and wife, whose house, a one story frame, was located on the N. E. corner of James Street and old Front Street (now First Avenue), the same being the corner occupied by the Pioneer Building of seven stories.

Hillory Butler and wife, then living on the N. W. corner of James and Second Streets, now Second Avenue.

L. C. Harmon, owner of the old New England Hotel, on north side of Main Street near Occidental Avenue, wife, two daughters and one son.

Capt. John S. Hill, wife and son; John A. Suffren, wife and son; Charles Plummer, wife, daughter and two sons; Charles C. Terry, wife and daughter; John Ross, wife and two sons, residence second lot north of Madison and Front Streets, now First Avenue; Capt. S. D. Libby, wife and adopted son. They lived S. E. corner Second and James. John Pike, wife and son, N. E. corner Second and James. Dr. D. S. Maynard and wife lived on East side of Commercial Street, now First Avenue South, between Main and Jackson Streets. L. V. Wyckoff, wife and two stepchildren, lived on Second Street, now Second Avenue, where the Alaska Building now stands. W. W. White, wife and two children, residence on S. E. corner of Front Street, now First Avenue and Columbia Street. David W. Conklin and wife, Mrs. Conklin kept the hotel on the southeast corner of Main Street and old Commercial Street, now First Avenue South. Walter Graham, wife and son, residing near the Denny Clay Company's works, on Duwamish River. And S. Wetmore and family.

The following named residents were then unmarried, viz: Ira A. Utter, D. Parmelee, George F. Frye, D. K. Baxter, R. H. Beatty, Albert Pinkham, H. A. Atkins, Ira Woodin, M. D. Woodin, T. D. Hinckley, W. H. Surber, J. T. Jordan, David Hill, Thos. S. Russell, Robt. Russell, Henry Van Asselt, J. A. Chase, A. C. Anderson, E. Richardson, William Fife, E. A. Clark, Steve Hilton, M. B. Judkins, Hugh McAleer, Manuel Lopez, Jeff Hunt, Dr. J. R. Williamson, Dutch Charley, Ned Ohm, Frank Matthias, Capt. Rand, David Graham, Jack Harvey, Jacob Wivens, Bob Gardner, D. B. Ward, and J. H. Nagle. Many former settlers had gone away but returned within the next year or two.

When I arrived in Seattle in 1859, the block-house, to which the people were forced to flee for safety during the attack upon the town by the Indians, was still standing. It occupied a prominent point on the west side of what is now First Avenue, directly opposite the intersection of Cherry Street with First Avenue.

On our way from Salem to Seattle, we passed a number of these block-houses after leaving the Columbia River, into which the white settlers had been compelled to flee in order to escape the hostile Indians.

I have sometimes thought we are prone to a too severe criticism of the Indians for the wars waged, not only locally but generally. Were they not doing what we would do if our own land was being overrun by a foreign foe? Possibly their methods may have been open to criticism. Be that as it may, they had not learned the lesson and had not grasped the great thought of "The survival of the fittest."

The Methodist Episcopal Church, under the guidance of Rev. D. E. Blaine, had erected a small church building on the second lot from the S. E. corner of Columbia Street and Second Street, now Second Avenue, now occupied by the building known as the Boston Block. This building was a mere shell, but had been used for church gatherings. Among other evidences of the attack by the Indians upon Seattle, was the scars this building bore, particularly the bullet holes in the windows.

From the possible one hundred people living here in 1859, Seattle has grown to a great—great in many ways—city of more than 300,000 inhabitants. It is not strange, therefore, if the old-timer finds it difficult to locate definitely many of the once familiar spots.

DILLIS B. WARD.

WASHINGTON MAIL ROUTES IN 1857

From the annual report of the Postmaster General in 1857 it is learned that there were then in Washington Territory five mail routes. In addition to these were routes that connected the Territory with other Territories and States, but not many others, as in those days there were few people, few postoffices and few letters and papers to be carried.

The first of the routes was from Olympia to Whatcom—the only route on Puget Sound. The contract was let to James M. Hunt and John H. Scranton, for four years, at $22,400 per annum, mails to be carried once a week. They were to leave Olympia at 4 p. m. on Friday, arrive at Whatcom at 4 p. m. on Monday; leave Whatcom at 9 a. m. on Tuesday, and arrive at Olympia at 9 a. m. on Friday. Though not mentioned in the report the writer knows that the ports of call included Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Madison, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Port Townsend, Dungeness, Victoria and Penn's Cove on Whidby Island. Other places on or near the route, as Seabeck, Port Orchard and Mukilteo, were unsupplied, and people in those places were obliged to use the places on the route for their mail gettings and sendings, Three days were allowed for the making of the trip each way, and the schedule of calls at the ports was open and loose. This enabled the contractors to pick up good money on the side, in the way of special services to ships needing towage, occasional excursions, etc. Most of the time the mail was carried on the Constitution, a steam propeller that later became a barkentine and was put in the codfishery and lumber trades. Other boats employed were the Sea Bird, soon lost in British Columbia waters; the Wilson G. Hunt, too large and expensive a boat for those days; the Julia, a large sternwheeler, built at Port Ludlow, but afterwards taken to Columbia River, and the Eliza Anderson, built on the Columbia River in 1859, but brought to the Sound for Hunt & Scranton. At one time in 1858, by the absence in California of the Constitution for repairs, there was no steamer of any kind on the Sound, a condition of affairs that never later prevailed. In 1862, however, owing to failure of the contractor to supply a steamer, the Sound mails were carried on sail boats, a service very unsatisfactory to the people, the Eliza Anderson and other steamers being on the Sound, but then in opposition to the contractor and his bondsmen. The contractor, George Parkinson, abandoned the job, and removed to Victoria, leaving the service to his principal bondsman, Philip Keach, of Steilacoom.

For a short term—Sept. 1, 1857, to June 30, 1858—contract was made with Fred A. Clarke to carry the mail between Cowlitz Landing and Boisfort Prairie, fifteen miles and back once in two weeks, for $300, or $30 a month. Clarke was long a leading citizen of the Territory, a Legislator, and in his last years a citizen of Pierce county, where his widow still resides. He was then a Lewis Countian, and was prominent in the effort to secure the Territorial University for that locality, an effort that well nigh succeeded.

From Oak Point, on Columbia River, to Grand Mound, 50 miles, contract was made with D. W. Bush for ten months at $90 per month. Mail was to be carried once in every two weeks, leaving Oak Point every other Monday at 6 a. m., and leaving Grand Mound every other Friday at 6 a. m. Thirty-five hours were allowed for making the trip each way.

From Olympia to Glenn Prairie was the fourth route, 40 miles, once in two weeks. Though a petty service, a lot of prominent men were after the contract, there being more bidders than for the other four routes combined, including William Pumphrey, Levi Shelton, John Shelton, Thornton F. McElroy, Thomas B. Hicks, Arch McMillan and T. F. McElroy and Edward Furste. The bids ranged from $300 to $800. The McElroy & Furste of $300 was accepted, but for some reason the contract was not let.

From Pacific City to Olympia, once in two weeks was the last of the proposed services. The only bid was that of Sidney S. Ford, commonly known as Judge Ford, a Lewis County resident of the 1840's. He offered to carry the mail with horses and boats for $8,500 per annum. That seemed like a lot of money for a small service in a far-off, sparsely-settled territory, and the authorities in Washington City refused to let the contract. Pacific City was on the maps before Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma and hundreds of other places in the State of Washington. It has been off the maps now for many years.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

RIGHTS OF THE PUGET SOUND INDIANS TO GAME AND FISH*

The Indian of Puget Sound stands unique in Indian history. Ever and always has he supported and subsisted himself. Never has he been supported or subsisted either by the Federal Government or by the State Government. There is a common misapprehension that the Government feeds, clothes and maintains him but that is a mistake. The Government does none of these things and has never done any of them. The Indian has supported and maintained himself. No Indian has given more to the white man—no Indian has received less. Even during the Indian War the Indians of the Tulalip Agency were the friends and allies of the Government and maintained, under Pat Kanim, a band of eighty friendly Indian scouts cooperating with the military forces of the United States Government.

The treaty of Point Elliott was made by Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens at Mukilteo or Point Elliott, Washington, January 22nd, 1855 (12 Stats., 927.) This treaty established the Tulalip Agency and its reservations—Tulalip, Lummi, Swinomish and Port Madison (or "Old Man House.")

By this treaty the Indians of Tulalip Agency ceded to the white man all of the land lying between the summit of the Cascades, the western shore of Puget Sound, Point Pully or Three-Tree Point, and the international boundary line. This area includes all the land lying in the *counties of Snohomish, Skagit, Whatcom, Island, San Juan, most of King and a part of Kitsap*—the very choicest and most valuable portion of the State of Washington, including the cities of Seattle (named after one of our old Indian chiefs), Everett and Bellingham—in fact all of the many cities and towns on the east side and some on the west side of Puget Sound north of Tacoma. That is to say, the Indians of this agency have donated to the white man all of the great townsites of Puget Sound, Tacoma and Olympia alone excepted. No Indian has given more—no Indian has received less!

Under Tulalip are direct descendants of old Chief Seattle, Chief Pat Kanim, Chow-its-hoot, Goliah and other well-known chiefs, who were among the original signers of the Tulalip Treaty. Chief Seattle is buried in our cemetery at Port Madison and Chief Pat Kanim is buried in our cemetery at Tulalip. Many Tulalip school children and their parents are the living representatives of the ancient Indian donors who gave an

*Address sent to the Washington Legislative Session of 1915, by Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, United States Indian Agent at Tulalip, Washington.

almost priceless gift to their white neighbors, against whom they have never raised their hands in war or bloodshed. The hostile Indians were of other tribes and treaties.

The Indians of Puget Sound were a self-supporting people because they were and are a fisher folk, subsisting on the bounty of the sea and the game of both sea and shore. Long before the advent of the white man to this vicinity these Indians maintained valuable fishery locations and depended thereupon for their "daily bread." When the white man came they made no attempt to dispossess the Indian from his natural resources—on the contrary they affirmed these resources to the Indian by solemn treaty pledges. Since the days of more serious settlement, however, these locations have become the causes of endless disputes and endless attempts to dispossess the Indian by legal technicalities and quibbles. Some of the old people for years maintained the firm faith and belief that: "The Great Spirit gave these things to us and no man can take them from us!"

Naturally and inevitably the aborigines inhabiting the littoral are largely dependent upon the bounty of the sea for support and therefore become a fisher folk—as happened in this case. For this reason the United States Government found these people a self-supporting people and they have since so remained. Never have they been fed, supported or subsisted by either Federal or State Government—a position unique in Indian history. The natives' natural larders have been chiefly the shellfish and fishery locations adjacent to the mouths of the great rivers of this vicinity. These resources have been sufficient to subsist and maintain our Indian people hitherto. These resources have naturally lessened with the advent of the white man; more recently, the use of large capital, mechanical assistance, numerous great traps, canneries, etc., and other activities allied to the fishery industry, have greatly lessened and depleted the Indians' natural sources of food supply. In addition thereto the stringent and harsh application to Indians of the State game and fish laws have made it still and increasingly precarious for him to procure his natural foods in his natural way. Much of this has been done under color of law. An empty larder, however, is an empty larder. The pinch of poverty and hunger are none the less severe because the man who has taken your means of subsistence has done so under cover of law and the appearance of legal right. The Indian is aware of no defect, default or transgression on his part—*ergo*, he argues, it must be that that transgression is upon the part of the white man—*post hoc propter hoc*. One by one his richer and remoter fishery locations have been stripped from him while the law held him helpless and resourceless. Driven back to his reservation by the discriminatory operation of the white man's game and fishery laws

(which may apprehend an Indian seeking a duck for dinner for his family), he is compelled to utilize the fishery locations immediately adjacent to his reservation. Now the aggressive whites are seeking even these and driving him (still under cover of law, perhaps, but none the less certainly) from these. The fishery rights adjacent to the Lummi littoral have been held in common by the Lummis from ancient times, and it is from these that the white man is now seeking to oust him. To this he naturally objects for several reasons, (1) it deprives or seeks to deprive him of a natural right, (2) it deprives him of his ancient and natural food and food supplies and his treaty rights relative thereto, and (3) even the aboriginal fisherman cannot fish on shore, on land. The Lummi Indians therefore, as a body, protest vehemently against the encroachments of whites upon their ancient fisheries immediately adjacent to their reservation regardless of such rights as the *white man may have given himself* in the premises.

If the white man takes from the Indian the latter's natural means of support the white man is in honor and in equity bound to supply the Indian with other and immediate means of support. It is neither a full nor a direct answer to this question to state that it all comes about by the operation of great natural laws, such as the survival of the fittest, etc. It has come about by the operation of laws which the white man himself has made for the white man's benefit. The Indian has never been given any power to make laws either for himself or for others.

The executive order establishing the reservation of Tulalip Agency stipulates low water mark as the shore boundary line. Beyond that the Indian is in the jurisdiction of the State, technically, and yet it is beyond that that he must go to secure his fish or his ducks, the natural food upon which he lives and has always lived, and which the treaty guarantees to him. The State issues fishing licenses and under the protection and permission thereof the white licentiate may approach the immediate littoral of the reservation and occupy in this manner the ancient fisheries of the Indians immediately adjacent to their reservations—*and to the exclusion of the Indian therefrom.* Is this "*in common*"? Where then is the Indian to fish—in his forest? Is it after all to be a case of

"Mother, may I go out to swim?"
"Yes, my darling daughter.
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb
But don't go near the water."

When the treaty was made our Indians called to the attention of the white treaty makers that the Indian's interests lay in the water as much as, if not more than, on land. He expected the treaty to take care of his interests in that respect and he believed and still believes that it has done

so. Article 5 of the Treaty of Muckl-te-oh or Point Elliott (12 Stat., 927) provides as follows:

"The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. *Provided, however*, that they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens."

The Indian claims that the above article secured to him special privileges. In the Alaska Packers Association case in Judge Hanford's court (Seattle, Wash.), the judge held that the treaty guaranteed to the Indian common rights in State territory subject to the same restrictions imposed upon citizens at such point. This determination appears not to have been subsequently confirmed. In the case of Winans (U. S. vs. Winans, 198 U. S., 371), there appears to be a direct reversal of this holding.

These things all tend to show not only the struggle that is being made by the Indian for his ancient right and ancient food, but also the struggle on the part of the State to take this from him *even on his own reservation*, as is seen in the case of George and Ross at Lummi, and even more recently in the arrest of Casimir Sam (a Tulalip Reservation Indian) for shooting ducks for his own subsistence on the waters adjacent to Tulalip Reservation.

The contention has been made that the cited Article 5 of the treaty guarantees to the Indian the same privilege (including licensure, etc.) that it does to a citizen, but when it is borne in mind that the whites outnumber the Indian in this State more than 10 to 1 and when it is further borne in mind that most of the valuable fishery and hunting grounds are adjacent to if not in the Indian country, and that trap locators may apparently acquire ancient fishery locations and exclude Indians, the guarantee of equality is more apparent than real—it is shadow rather than substance. Referring to the session laws, Washington, 1909, page 143, competent attorneys contend that the requirements for licensure are qualifications of citizenship and residence that can not be met by a reservation Indian and therefore a reservation Indian is debarred from a lawful license, while citizens of the State may readily obtain them. Is this holding rights in common? There can be no doubt but that the Indian is being thereby deprived of his treaty rights. If we take from the Indian or permit to be taken from him the treaty guarantees of his natural larders, his ancient food, his ancient fisheries, then the last reliance, the last resource of the Indian is gone and we are in honor bound to furnish the Indian with that means of self-support which we have taken from him.

Until very recent years the local game wardens and the local courts

have pursued a liberal policy in administering the game and fish laws *so far as their applications to local Indians were concerned and even when those Indians might be technically guilty of violations of the letter of the law rather than its spirit.* It is admitted and recognized that this was primarily Indian country; that this environment had years ago determined the necessary modes of existence and subsistence which the inhabitant must follow; that these modes were directly and vitally dependent upon the resources of the local environment, and that the Indian was inevitably subject to these conditions. When the white man came he, too, was dependent upon the same condition and his subsequent development of the country was a development of the natural resources of the country, all of which were more or less involved in the Indian's manner and means of existence adjacent to salt water. The exploitation of the great natural resources (especially the timber and fishery resources) made increasingly precarious and difficult the Indian's maintenance and subsistence of himself—*he has always been self-supporting*, be it said to his credit. This crucial condition increases with time—it does not diminish. It bears with especial rigor upon the older Indian to whom no other way or manner of life than the old one is known or reasonably possible The Indian of Puget Sound has always lived chiefly upon fish, shellfish, ducks, berries and *ferae naturae;* his dependence upon them has not been occasional but continual and he has therefore always taken them when and where he could—not because he chose to do so but because he must do so to live. He did not do this for sport or pleasure but for daily bread, as other men work at their daily tasks that mean subsistence. All of these things appeared to have been realized, until recently, by those officials charged with the execution of the State laws pertinent thereto. Consequently the Indians were harassed by no technicalities or quibbles of abstract law where life and living were concerned and had to be concerned. But that happy condition and wise administration appear to have passed away and a new time has come in which the Indian himself is game with no closed season in his favor. It is too bad indeed that the Indian does not have the good fortune to be a migratory duck so that he might have the protection of some special legislation and be given at least a fighting chance for his life and his living, too! Of course, the Indian cannot be actually eaten, but life is as precious and as necessary to him as to a duck.

The State administration of its hunting and fishing affairs is now in the hands of its Fish Commissioner, who has shown no predilections for Indians. The county wardens are the deputies of the Fish Commissioner who is State Game Warden *ex officio*. How drastic, harsh and unjust a policy this official is pursuing may be judged by consulting some of his cases. I refer more particularly to the Judge Hardin decision in the case

where Patrick George and Dan Ross, two Indians of Lummi Indian Reservation, *fishing within the bounds of Lummi Reservation, were arrested by him and haled into court and thus subjected to the annoyance, humiliation and expense of an unnecessary defence* in addition to the valuable time which they lost from their fishery operations. In this case the Court held against Commissioner Darwin and in his anger thereat he threatened to re-arrest the same Indians and bring them into Court again and again for the same offence by virtue of arbitrary use of plenary power vested in his office. It may be judged therefrom (when attempts are made to pursue Indians on their own reservations) what drastic steps and courses may be pursued against Indians off of their reservations. Such courses destroy the former cooperation between reservation authorities and the local State authorities in these matters. This drastic and unreasonable activity is depriving our Indians (and particularly our needy old people who depend upon the hunting and skill of themselves and of their young men) of their natural food which now renders them and has always rendered them independent of Government maintenance,—self-supporting and self-subsisting. The drastic construction and application of the game and fishing laws will deprive him of much of the means that have made him independent and self-supporting. To take away those means will ultimately drive some to beggary or to theft. We rely upon the same treaty rights as obtained in the Mattson case. We think they cover. The treaty covers both fishing and hunting. These subjects are administered by the same State Officer in State territory and many, if not most, of the provisions of the State law are similar or parallel, if not identical.

The first act in this State relative to Indians fishing is found in the Session Laws, 1891, page 171, *and has never been repealed so far as I am aware.* Indeed, this same provision is now to be found in Rem. & Ball., Sec. 5207:

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent citizens of any state having a concurrent jurisdiction with this state over or upon any rivers or waters, from fishing upon such rivers or waters; *provided that this Act shall not apply to Indians.*"

Here a specific exemption is made in favor of Indians, recognizing the necessities of the case, admitting the necessity for his maintenance of himself in his old and accustomed way so far as securing his accustomed food at accustomed places and in accustomed manners is concerned. Hunting is a part and parcel of the same necessitous condition and is specifically recognized as such in the treaty. In the state the two subjects are handled and administered by the same department and official. It is believed that the same exemption in favor of Indians was intended in the matter of game, even though it is not so specificially set out as in the question of

fishing. Indeed, many persons are under the impression that such a specific exemption of the Indian exists even in the game laws (though I do not find it myself except by implication). There is a substantial public sentiment with the Indians in this matter and opposed to the game warden's action and those substantial citizens suggest that we send a representative committee of intelligent Indians to call upon the legislature and ask the legislature to make the implied exemptions as to hunting by Indians an express and specific exemption.

Last September (1913), 10-G, the County Game Warden, Mr. White, through one of his deputies, arrested Casimir Sam, an Indian of the Tulalip Reservation, for duck shooting in waters that we claim are a portion of Tulalip Reservation (which question is now involved in our case against the Snohomish River Boom Company at present pending in the Federal Court). Casimir Sam was arrested, taken away and placed in jail in Everett to be held for trial. The deputy game garden then came upon the reservation and forcibly removed the ducks which he alleged had been killed *off the reservation*, and the deputy warden swore to this in his complaint. A change of venue (for prejudice) was secured and a jury trial demanded. The jury declined to credit or accept any of the evidence offered by the game warden or his deputies (all of which was untrue in every material point), but did accept the evidence offered by Casimir Sam that he was upon his reservation and within his rights. The jury exonerated and acquitted the Indian and repudiated the game warden. Yet this wrongful arrest of Caisimr Sam by the County Game Warden deprived the Indian of his liberty for several days, humiliated him and subjected him to the unnecessary (otherwise) expense of $50.00 for an attorney to defend him and prove his innocence—which said amount the Indians and myself raised by subscription and repaid, for Casimir had no funds. The sum was subscribed chiefly by interested Indians and myself —no outsiders were asked to contribute, though there was and is a strong local sentiment in favor of the Indian in this matter.

The Indian's equitable rights in all of these instances are strong, undoubted. But it is not upon the equities of his case that he must rest—the preponderance of conclusions of law as well as those of the findings of fact are usually with the Indian. The Superior Court of the State of Washington in and for the County of Whatcom has repeatedly so decided. The most recent of those several cases was that against Dan Ross and Patrick George (both Indians of the Lummi Indian Reservation at Tulalip Agency), for alleged unlawful fishing without a license, was tried before Judge Hardin of the aforesaid Court on October 29th, 1913. This was not a jury trial, but was heard and decided by the Judge strictly on its legal issues and merits. Judge Hardin delivered a long, written opinion

in this said case on Tuesday, November 4th, 1913. The newspapers gave extended notice to it at the time, deeming the case of much importanc—as, indeed, it was. The Judge passed upon the case from the standpoint of the treaty and also construed the provisions of the State Constitution and the Enabling Act under which Washington Territory was admitted into the sisterhood of states. The rights of the Indians, under the pledges and guarantees of their treaty as aforesaid, were featured strongly in the presentation of the case in court. Judge Hardin concluded his opinion as follows:

"If it be conceded, therefore, that the point where the defendants were fishing was *without the Reservation*, yet the ground where they were fishing at the time, *being a usual and accustomed place of fishing by the Indians at the time of the making of the treaty*, the defendants would have, by reason of article 5 of the treaty, the right, in common with white men, *to fish thereat and without license from the State.*"

There is complete recognition of both cause and effect, without quibble or equivocation. The Judge states clearly the special privileges of the Indians and clearly assigns and allocates them to the aforesaid treaty. The Judge further stated, orally, that to his mind the law was so plain that it did not admit of any controversy.

The rights of the Indians have been recognized in many ways and have been affirmed by many courts—Federal as well as State. The following citations are given as of especial interest in this connection:

U. S. vs. Winans, 198 U. S., 371.
Seufert vs. Olney, 193 Fed., 200.
U. S. vs. Taylor, 3 Wash. Ter., 88.
Harkness vs. Hyde, 98 U. S., 237.
In re Blackbird, 109 Fed., 139.
U. S. vs. Kagama, 118 U. S., 375.

Hitherto much reliance has been placed by our opponents on the Alaska Packers' Association case, heard by Judge Hanford, and in which the Judge affirmed that no special or peculiar privileges accrued to the Indians on those points by reason of the Indian treaty! The case of U. S. vs. Winans (*supra*) completely reverses Judge Hanford's holdings, however, in the aforesaid case. The Seufert vs. Olney case, the U. S. vs. Taylor case, both of them, refer to the treaty and are strong decisions. Indeed, in the U. S. vs. Taylor case, 3 Wash. Ter., 88, an injunction was granted restraining a property owner from maintaining a fence that cut off access to fishing grounds *which were some fifty or sixty miles* distant from the Reservation!

The requirements to obtain State licensure are citizenship, or a declaration of citizenship, and a residence for one year prior thereto; the

present Act has a provision that nothing in the said Act shall prevent the issuance of licenses to Indians *who possess the qualifications of citizenship and residence hereinbefore required.* How then can a reservation Indian possibly obtain a lawful license? If the conditions of the State laws make it impossible for such Indians to obtain such licenses why should the Indian be penalized therefor? Why should the Indian be punished for failing to do what the State laws makes it impossible for him to do?

Prior reference herein has been had to the fact that the first Act in this State relative to Indians fishing is found in the Session Laws of 1891, at page 171. This Act has never been repealed and is now found in Rem. & Ball., Sec. 5207. It reads as follows:

"SECTION 5207. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent citizens of any state having a concurrent jurisdiction with this state over or upon any rivers or waters, from fishing upon such rivers or waters; provided that this act shall not apply to Indians."

"*Provided that this act shall not apply to Indians*"! That has not been repealed, but is it observed?

In 1909 the legislature, in the Act relative to the taking of salmon and other food fish and providing for licenses, has the following, Session Laws of 1909, page 143:

"Provided that nothing in this Act or any other Act shall prevent any person residing in this state from taking salmon or other fish by any means at any time for consumption by himself and family"!

Has that Act ever been repealed?

What, then, gentlemen, are we asking and why are we asking it? Our reasons have all preceded this portion of our statement. It only remains to state that which we most earnestly beseech of the lawgivers of our State, for we wish to be, as we have always been, law abiding and law respecting with all due respect and loyalty to duly constituted authority and properly enacted law. We ask you to make it possible for the Indian to live, to live lawfully, to live lawfully on the food and food sources which he knows and which are at his disposal, to make it possible thereby for him to live at peace and in good will with his white neighbor and ancient friend. This we ask, this we beseech of you, to rewrite into the laws of our State, to confirm again to the Indian the exemption privileges conferred upon us by the first Act in this State relative to Indians fishing (Session Laws, page 171). This has never been repealed and is now found in Rem. & Ball., Sec. 5207. Confirm to us also the privileges of the Act of 1909 found in Session Laws, 1909, page 143. Also please make the requirements precedent to licensure more explicit and less ambiguous, and since the conditions embodied in the requirements of the law make it practically impossible for reservation Indians to lawfully acquire a

lawful license, please have that fact stated explicitly beyond doubt and peradventure. In order that the laws may state clearly and explicitly their purpose and intent clearly and fully on all of these points, we ask, in the name of our ancient friendship, in the name of our present wardship and in the name of our future citizenship, that the proper and necessary amendments be made to the said laws and acts to make further quarrels, clashes and litigation both unnecessary and undesirable on these said points. We not only wish to live, we must live—it is the wish, the desire and the design of the Great Spirit that we do so, for to that end and purpose has He placed us here and watched over us. It is equally important not only that we live but that we live in peace, harmony and friendship with our white friends and the laws which they make but which we have not the privilege of making. In the name of all these things, friends and neighbors, do we ask you to open your hearts to us and in your minds to generously and kindly remember us who were your ancient friends and allies in the only Indian War that this vicinity has ever known. That is the proud history of the Indians of the Tulalip Agency, of all of the Indians signatory to the Treaty of January 22nd, 1855 (12 Stats., 927), at Muckilteo, Washington. Friends, to your friendly hearts, to your kindly intelligence and to your penerous spirits do we confidently appeal our case.

CHARLES M. BUCHANAN.

BOOK REVIEWS

RUSSIAN EXPANSION ON THE PACIFIC, 1641-1850. By F. A. Golder. (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1914. Pp. 368. $5.00.)

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. It would indicate that the whole of the expansion of the Russian dominion, in America as well as in Asia, up to 1850, would be presented. This is not the case, for the book is devoted to Siberia, with the exception of the voyages of Gwosdef and Bering to the American continent.

The author states, in the preface, that his original intention was to write a history of Alaska. To do this required an examination of the events and conditions that preceded the discovery of the American continent. He found, upon taking up this work, that, what he intended as a background for Alaskan history, was "the closing chapter of a period of Russian expansion," and "became the principal part of the picture."

The opening chapter is devoted to the administration of government in eastern Siberia during the 17th century. The explorations along the Arctic Ocean, the conquest of Kamchatka, the invasion of the valley of the Amur, each are treated in separate chapters. The voyage of Deshnef, in 1648, when he is presumed to have doubled East Cape, Siberia, is debated at length and the actual passage of the cape is brought in question. The discovery of America is credited to Gwosdef, in 1732. This voyage has heretofore been considered indefinite, and the accounts given have been obscure. The text of Gwosdef's report is given, for the first time, in an English translation. The geographical beliefs prevalent at the time are discussed in a chapter on Terra de Jeso, which ends with "Alaska takes the place of Terra de Jeso on the maps; Company Land, State Island, and Gama Land are three of the Kuril Islands, but on some charts they retain their old names."

In the account of Bering's First Expedition an extract from a report of Bering is given on page 148, which states as follows: "On the fifteenth of August we came to latitude fifty-seven degrees, eighteen minutes, etc." This is an error, as the correct latitude, according to all other authorities was 67 deg. 18 min. N. lat. There is either a mistake in the quotation, or the report was erroneous.

In the chapter on Bering's Second Expedition, the location of the bay where Chirikof lost his men is given as 57 deg. 50 min. N. lat. This is about 30 min. farther north than has been quoted by other writers.

In this the author has followed Louis Delisle de la Croyere, who was with Chirikof on the ship and whose account is given in the appendix.

The illustrations of the volume are reproductions of maps of the period and in an Appendix are papers translated from records of the Archives of Russia and France. The bibliographic notes on original sources and where they may be found, are of special value to students.

The work is more of a critical study of the period than it is of a popular volume for the masses. Much of the material is given in the works of Muller, Coxe, Bancroft, Lauridsen and others who have written on the subject, but this puts it in more accessible form as those works are to be found in but few libraries. C. L. ANDREWS.

THE HISTORY OF WYOMING FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN DISCOVERIES. In three volumes. By C. G. Coutant. (Laramie, Vol. 1. Pp. 712, Illus.)*

Unfortunately the proposed three-volumed history of Wyoming was only one third written, the first volume appearing in 1890 when it was privately published in Laramie, Wyoming, and printed by the Chaplin, Spafford and Mathison Co. The author becoming ill and the expensive undertaking being impossible, the history was never completed. Much valuable material collected by the author was disposed of by his widow for a history.

Mr. Coutant for many years was a newspaper man traveling extensively in Wyoming in quest of news, making a wide acquaintance with the people of Wyoming and those things that were old Wyoming. An old-timer himself, he associated with those individuals who not only made Wyoming's history but knew the pioneers of the State's earliest days, thus well qualifying himself for the task he had heroically undertaken.

A running resume of the contents of this first volume will more adequately detail the contents of the history than any other form of review. The delineating of the "Spanish Occupation" of Wyoming is the only portion of the text that is not based on authentic history. There are many indications and traditions that the Spanish explorers came as far North as Wyoming in their daring explorations. Interesting speculations are made as to these earliest occupants of the territory now known as Wyoming if we may except tribes of Indians whose flint work shops are

*The Hudson Book Company, 862 Hewitt Place, Bronx, New York City, announce that a small edition of this work was found stored in the vaults of a western bank. The author had died before completing the companion volumes. Miss Hebard, Librarian and Professor of Economics of the University of Wyoming and an authority on Wyoming history, consented to write the review. It is hoped that she may complete the work by Coutant. —Editor.

still visible on some of the plains of the State. It is generally believed that 1743 saw the first white men within what is now the boundary of Wyoming when the De La Verendryes led an expedition from Canada to the headwaters of the Mississippi across the Missouri into the Yellowstone and Wind River Countries, coming down from the North to a point near the middle of the State not far from the celebrated rift in the mountains to be known as South Pass through which in years to come the thousands of people were to journey on their way to a new country to an unknown West.

Some very recent investigators are inclined to rob Wyoming of this page of early history of the De La Verendryes, the subject being in controversy as to Wyoming's share of "earliest explored." While Lewis and Clark in their epoch making expedition never touched the territory of what is Wyoming on the return from the Pacific, Clark coming home by the way of the Yellowstone, was at one time within forty miles of Wyoming's northern boundary. With him among others were two people whose names are associated with the State's first History, Sacajawea, the little Shoshoni Indian guide, and John Colter, the Indian woman now buried in the cemetery at Wind River Reservation, not far from old South Pass, the white man to be the first to carry back to civilization the wonders of the Yellowstone National Park. The Astoria expedition brings the first known organized body of men into Wyoming when the party in 1811 traversed the state from northeast to middle West. Large excerpts from Washington Irving's Astoria, as well as adventures of Captain Bonneville appear in the history. If one wished to be critical, too long quotations fill the books with which the reader might easily acquaint himself elsewhere, occupying valuable space in a book much too large for convenient handling. The return trip of the Astoria party gave to the world the Oregon Trail, which was more than an outline road even in 1812, made by the animals and the Indians in their traveling back and forth for better food and water. The fur traders receive their proper attention and the organization of old Fort Laramie, named for the trapper de La Ramee or plain Jacques Laramie, with the workings of Campbell, Bridger, Sublette, Ashley, Smith, Fitzpatrick and others, lend a fascination to the narrative. Fremont with his indomitable men receive considerable attention when the mountain bearing the "pathfinder's" name was scaled. Here again is much quoting, interesting but adding unnecessary bulk to the volume. The "forty-niners," the exodus from the East of the Mormons, the Idaho and Nevada gold seekers all made Wyoming the broad highway to the land of possible fortunes and probable disappointments. The stage lines and the pony express receive their due attention, for Ben Holliday and Bill Cody both still have friends who knew them in the days when Wyom-

ing was not, "Buffalo Bill" being picturesquely alive. The bloody years on the plains before and after the coming of the Union Pacific are described from the information obtained from eye witnesses and participators in the conflict. The Bozeman Trail, a government road from Fort Laramie north to Bozeman, Montana, a seat of war from the time of its conception to its death, carries the interest through several chapters, harrowing albeit historically accurate. With the gold discoveries in South Pass and a detailed description of the building of the Union Pacific, every mile of its progress being contested by the red men as it passed through Wyoming, then a Territory in 1867, -8 and -9, volume I ends saying "what happened in 1869 will be detailed in the next volume of this work." It is to be deplored that financial reverses and poor health did not permit the author to complete the contemplated and well organized work. What he has given to historical readers is well worth their perusal, bringing with it a reward of profit and real pleasure if hardships, privations and dangers of frontier life and the death of the pioneer without direct rewards for his daring and enterprise is ever pleasing reading.

GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD.

THE WINNING OF THE FAR WEST. By Robert McNutt McElroy, Ph. D., Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. Pp. x.; 384. $2.50.)

The title of this work calls to mind at once Roosevelt's Winning of the West and suggests comparisons. As a matter of fact, the present work is intended as a continuation of Roosevelt's, but one misses in it the intimate and understanding appreciation of pioneer life which gave to the older work its greatest charm. This difference is due in part to the briefness of Dr. McElroy's volume and in part to the limitation expressed in the sub-title, viz., "A History of the Regaining of Texas, of the Mexican War, and The Oregon Question; and of The Successive Additions to the Territory of the United States, Within the Continent of America: 1829-1867." It is, therefore, a study of such national action and international relations as have resulted in additions to the territory of the United States.

Of the fourteen chapters comprising the volume, three deal with the independence and annexation of Texas, eight with the war against Mexico, and one chapter is given to each of the following: Oregon, The Organization of the New West, 1848-1853, and The Purchase of Russian America.

The story of the independence of Texas begins by frankly and accurately showing Jackson's interest in annexation and the co-operation that

obtained between Jackson and Sam Houston to the end that Texas be made independent and then annexed to the United States. A number of hitherto unused Jackson letters let in new light and re-emphasize the violent antagonisms existing between Jackson and John Quincy Adams. Jackson's private letters and his public messages seem to show him working at cross-purposes, but in reality he wanted Congress to take the initiative and he laid his plans to force them to do so (p. 48). The opposition of Adams and the growing feeling in the north that the whole scheme was another attempt to steal "bigger pens to cram with slaves" delayed annexation because it endangered the Democratic party's supremacy.

The chapters dealing with the Mexican war are vividly and interestingly written for here Dr. McElroy is at his best. One closes the work with a feeling that many of the historians have done us an injustice by ignoring the heroic in the Mexican War. Too much space is ordinarily given to attempts to prove a slaveholder's conspiracy that does not exist. Polk is frankly set forth as an ardent expansionist and this is as it should be, but the present reviewer believes that Dr. McElroy is in error in his attempts to justify him in claiming the disputed part of Texas. The Treaty of Velasco, which was signed May 14, 1836, by the Captive Santa Anna did not recognize Texas as a free and independent state "*with a boundary extending to the Rio Grande.*" (p. 28). The treaty simply provides that "the Mexican Troops will evacuate the Territory of Texas, passing to the other side of the Rio Grande del Norte." The secret treaty, made at the same time and place, provided among other things that "limits will be established between Mexico and Texas, the Territory of the latter not to extend beyond the Rio Bravo del Norte," (Niles' Register, Vol. 69, No. 98). Whatever may be thought of the negative and indefinite character of these Treaties they are hardly a justification of the view that the disputed Territory was American soil after the annexation of Texas. Similarly, Polk's claim to the disputed Territory because it "had been represented in the Congress and in the Convention of Texas," and "is now included within one of our congressional districts," and within our revenue system (pp. 139-140) satisfies no one. It may mean simply that others besides Polk were willing to take disputed territory from a weaker neighbor. It would seem that a fuller statement of the unadjusted claims against Mexico (p. 135) and how they had arisen would be of value.

The chapters dealing with Oregon, the organization of the West, and Alaska, are of course brief, but they are nevertheless well done. The book will find its real place in the literature of the period, probably, as a valuable history of the Mexican War.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

A GREAT PEACE MAKER, THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN, SECRETARY TO ALBERT GALLATIN, 1813-1827. With an Introduction by Viscount Bryce. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914. Pp. xiii, 314. $2.50 net.)

The extended title of this book will undoubtedly attract the general reader of American history, but there should be expected in such a book an especial appeal for the lovers of history in the Pacific Northwest. The Lewis and Clark Expedition wrote Gallatin's name indelibly upon the geography of the present State of Montana. Gallatin was one of the framers of the Treaty of Ghent (1814) in which American claims in the Oregon country were safeguarded. Gallatin, while United States Minister to France, was transferred to London and his name is the first signature to the treaty of 1818, known as the Joint Occupancy Treaty. Before the ten-year limit of that treaty provision expired, Gallatin was sent as United States Minister to Great Britain and was remarkably successful in extending indefinitely the joint occupancy plan, in the treaty of 1827. These were fundamental provisions by which American interests in Oregon were protected by diplomacy while while there were no American settlers in the region affected. It is no wonder, therefore, that later studies in this field are awakening new interest in the life and work of Albert Gallatin.

However, from this point of view the book now being considered is a distinct disappointment. Albert Gallatin died in 1849 at the age of 88 years. Three years before his death he published his famous pamphlet on "The Oregon Question," in the opening sentence of which he declared that he had been a pioneer in gathering facts about Oregon. James Gallatin, the son and secretary, reveals no enthusiasm whatever for the West. The word "Oregon" does not appear in the index nor have I been able to find it in the body of the book.

Under the date of October 2, 1818, he tells of his dislike of England and says that after "endless discussion" the results included "also the joint use of the Columbia River." That seems to be the only reference he makes to the joint occupancy treaty. When the ten-year limit of that treaty was about to expire, Gallatin was sent to England to secure the "fifty-four, forty" boundary or to renew the joint occupancy treaty. The latter result was brilliantly achieved but this is the puny record in the diary:

"August 16 (1827). A treaty was signed today which continues the Commercial Convention of 1815 indefinitely. All is now entirely satisfactorily settled and we return at once to America."

It is difficult to account for the young man's lack of appreciation.

Instead of one treaty thus briefly alluded to there were three, and one of them related wholly to the joint occupancy of Oregon. There is also a discrepancy as to date. He makes the record on August 16, while the published treaties all say August 6. A worse jumble of dates occurs in 1818. He refers to the treaty under the date of October 2 and then records efforts to leave for France under the dates of October 10, 11 and 12. The published treaty shows that it was signed on October 20. He may have been very careless of dates for in many instances he writes the month only and lets it go at that.

That the young man did not take himself too seriously is evidenced from the entry of November 10, 1817, (page 115): "I often wonder if anybody got hold of my diary after I am dead what an ass they would think me. I will leave strict instructions to burn it. Frances and I are both learning a new dance, the 'Schottische.' It is very pretty and quite the fashionable rage."

He never fails, however, to show high regard for his great father. There are abundant references that show the statesman's patriotic efforts for his adopted country (Gallatin was born in Switzerland) and his earnest desire to help in the establishment of lasting peace.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST: ITS EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND LEGISLATIVE RECORDS: MINUTES OF THE COUNCILS OF THE RED RIVER COLONY AND THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND. Edited by Professor E. H. Oliver. (Volume 1, Ottawa, Government, 1914. Pp. 688.)

Issued as Part 1 of Number 9 of the Publications of the Canadian Archives, this volume is entirely devoted to pioneer legislation in the Canadian Northwest. It is a veritable mine of information covering essential facts relating to the history of the region. No student interested in the legislative or economic development of the Pacific Northwest can afford to overlook this work. Doubtless an ample index will be provided in the second and concluding volume.

REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1913. By E. O. S. Scholefield, Provincial Archivist. (Victoria, B. C. King's Printer, 1914. Pp. 135.)

The 1913 report of the Provincial Archives Department of British Columbia is noteworthy for the documents published therein. The report

proper shows the rapid growth of the Provincial Archives and indicates the provisions that are being made for the preservation and use of this material in the new quarters now being built. Three pages only are taken up with the administrative part of the report. The entire remainder is given over to the reproduction of important documentary sources. Most of the items relate to the common history of the Pacific Northwest regardless of the present international boundary line between Canada and the United States. Of particular interest to those on this side of the line are: 1. Papers relating to Nootka Sound and to Captain Vancouver's Expedition, twenty in number; 2. Letters of Sir James Douglas to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, thirty-nine in all, covering the years 1855-1857; and 3. Letters and Reports by David Thompson relating to the Oregon Territory. Of these latter there are ten items covering the critical years, 1842-1845.

The publication of original material in the form of bulletins is stated to be one of the pressing needs of the Archives Department "for it is only by such means that the resources of the archives can be made generally accessible." The present Report is an excellent beginning. Elsewhere in this issue is noted the initial number of another series to be known as the "Memoirs, Archives of British Columbia."

A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841. By Thomas Maitland Marshall. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1914. Publications in History, Volume II. Pp. xiii, 266. $2.00.)

This scholarly monograph is another evidence of the rich legacy acquired by the University of California in the Bancroft Library. Doctor Marshall opens his preface with this statement: "Ever since the appearance of Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History and the monumental works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, scholars have been attracted by the richness of the Southwest as a field for historical investigation. The immense collection of manuscripts and rare books, known as the Bancroft Library, now owned by the University of California, the archives of the United States, Mexico, Spain, England, and France, and the published documents of the United States government, contain a vast store of materials relating to this field, much of which has not yet been appraised. Any work, therefore, for many years to come, must be temporary in its nature, a fact which none recognizes more fully than the author of this monograph."

In addition to a proper modesty, the author thus reveals at the outset

the fact that his work pertains mostly to the Southwest. However, the Northwest has an interest in the book. The author discusses Jefferson's ideas as to the inclusion of Oregon in the Louisiana Purchase (p. 14), the United States claims to Oregon (pp. 55 and 59) and Spain's admission to a claim to Oregon (p. 60).

The book carries thirty maps, Map No. 20, facing page 66, gives in graphic form the author's careful study of the boundaries sought to be adjusted in the Florida Purchase Treaty of 1819, by which the southern boundary of the Oregon country was defined.

CALIFORNIA THE WONDERFUL, WITH GLIMPSES OF OREGON AND WASHINGTON. By Edwin Markham. (New York, Hearst's International Library Company, 1914. Pp. 400. $2.50.)

Edwin Markham, the well known author of "The Man With the Hoe," is distinctly a western man. He was born in the Willamette Valley, Oregon, of parents who came overland by ox team in the year 1847. One of his earliest recollections is of being lifted up in the sanctuary of a church in Oregon City and of gazing down on the dead face of Dr. John McLoughlin, "The Father of Oregon." After forty years lived in the State of California, Mr. Markham is eminently qualified to write the present volume. Its appearance at this time is doubtless due to the high class publicity campaign that has been carried on by the management of the San Francisco Exposition. Some twenty pages are devoted to Oregon and Washington. The style is popular, but much attention is paid to the history of the country described.

THE END OF THE TRAIL, THE FAR WEST FROM NEW MEXICO TO BRITISH COLUMBIA. By E. Alexander Powell, F. R. G. S. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914. Pp. xiii, 462. $3.00 net.)

"See America First," as a slogan will be obeyed this year on account of the great war in Europe. This book is one of the kind that will stimulate that wholesome idea of greater appreciation for the charms of our own land. We, of the "Pacific Rim," feel that the book is devoted to one of the most beautiful and most attractive portions of the planet.

The book carries 48 illustrations and a map of the Far West. There is a serviceable index. There are fifteen chapters bearing such titles as "Conquerors of Sun and Sand," "The Inland Empire," "Where Rolls the Oregon," "Clinching the Rivets of Empire." The style is racy and the printing seems perfect. The author says he has "no desire to usurp

the guide-book's place." Of course he has done much more than to compile a guide-book. He has made a descriptive book that should inspire thousands of readers with an impelling wish to see the Far West.

BUFFALO BILL AND THE OVERLAND TRAIL. By Edwin L. Sabin. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1914. Pp. 347. $1.25.)

This volume is written for boys of all ages from fifteen to ninety. Besides a story in which a fictitious person is introduced as principal character a chronology is included giving the principal events in the life of William Frederick Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill."

A WANDERER'S TRAIL. By A. Loton Ridger. (New York, Holt, 1914. Pp. 403. $3.)

The author of this book came from London to San Francisco in the year 1907 and travelled up the Coast as far as Alaska and the Klondyke. About one fourth of the book is devoted to his impressions of the Pacific Coast of America. Never having lived in this country he brings the enthusiasm of first experience to his observation. The result is a readable account of Pacific Northwest travel.

DIARY OF NELSON KINGSLEY, A CALIFORNIA ARGONAUT OF 1849. Edited by Frederick J. Teggart. (Berkeley, University of California, 1914. Pp. 179.)

The period from February 8, 1849, to March 4, 1851, is covered by this Journal. It is of value as showing the troubles and experiences of young men of the East who left their homes in "forty-nine" to seek wealth in California. In printing, spelling and punctuation the original has been scrupulously followed. This pamphlet is issued as Volume 3, Number 3, of the Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF VANCOUVER ISLAND. By C. F. Newcombe, M. D. (Victoria, B. C. King's Printer, 1914. Pp. 69.)

The title-page indicates that this is the initial number of "Memoirs" to be issued from the Archives of British Columbia. The promise is a wholesome one and all will await future numbers with interest.

The author of this Memoir is a physician who in the prime of life is

fortunate enough to relinquish the labor of his profession to devote his time to ethnology and history. He is well equipped and his friends are justified in expecting great results from his efforts in the realm of letters.

Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, Provincial Archivist, declares as a note of warning that the Archives Department does not assume responsibility for statements contained in the Memoirs. "The reader," he says, "must judge for himself as to the accuracy of the deductions made from the material used in the memoirs, of which the paper under consideration is the first to appear." With this caution in mind, the reader is led promptly into the main purpose by Doctor Newcombe's opening sentence: "It is the object of this paper to vindicate the contention of Captain George Vancouver that his ships were the first to complete the navigation of the inner channels which separate the island, now called by his name, from the mainland of British Columbia."

Time and space cannot here be given to a complete criticism of Doctor Newcombe's extended thesis. He confesses to years of preparation and he seems to have made out a strong case. One impression from a first reading is that he is too controversial. He finds it necessary to demolish the standing of John Meares, a British navigator, and several times he accuses the United States Government of concealing the journal of Joseph Ingraham, an American navigator. This display of vehemence or lack of moderation may result from the notion on the Doctor's part that he is laying the foundations for fresh disputes. In his concluding paragraph (page 54) he says: "Now that, happily, boundary questions between the United States and Canada are, at least, in abeyance," * * * Better basis will surely be found to further a more cordial appreciation of our common history.

If the Doctor's thesis stands the test of time as to its main theme—that Vancouver was first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island,—one thing is certain, namely: the diplomatic importance here assigned for that claim will never be conceded. There were so many elements in the boundary contentions that ended in the treaty of 1846 and in the arbitration of 1872 that the question of the first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island could have been eliminated entirely without changing the ultimate result in either case. Vancouver's discovery and exploration of Puget Sound were of much more diplomatic importance to both boundary contentions. These latter works were not disputed and yet they did not affect the boundary results.

The pamphlet under review is beautifully printed. The marginal citations are instantly helpful. The reproductions of rare old maps add to the value of the work as do the appendices and the bibliography .

On page 40 the printer has tricked the author into the error of

assigning far too great an age to Captain Ingraham at the time of his death.

DECISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES GEOGRAPHIC BOARD, JULY, 1913, TO JULY, 1914. (Washington. Government Printing Office, 1914. Pp. 28.)

The State of Washington is especially interested in this report. Out of a total of 184 decisions, 86 relate to geographical features in this State. Many of them are around Mount Rainier. Twenty-two of the decisions relate to Alaska and 5 to Oregon.

THE RED MAN. (Carlisle, Pa. February, 1915. 10 cents.)

This magazine, published by the United States Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, has reprinted Col. C. E. S. Woods's article on Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce. The article originally appeared in the Century Magazine in 1879, two years after the close of the Nez Perce War. Colonel Woods was an officer with General O. O. Howard and after the war he became a good friend of Chief Joseph. His article has been highly valued and its reprint should make it freshly and more widely available.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES. By William Archibald Dunning. (New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914. Pp. xl, 381.)

The author is Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy in Columbia University and a former President of the American Historical Association. The book has an introduction by Viscount Bryce and a preface by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University. A sub-title of the book says: "A Review of Their Relations During the Century of Peace Following the Treaty of Ghent." The book was prepared "by authority and under the direction of the Committee on Historic Review of the American Peace Centenary Committee" and was, in part, distributed by the American Association for International Conciliation.

Thus the book is seen to be a timely publication, but it has additional interest for readers in the Pacific Northwest for in it may be found a discussion of the Oregon country from the time of joint occupancy on, of Russia's Pacific Coast claims, and of the San Juan Arbitration.

On page 260, the author concludes his reference to the San Juan

arbitration as follows: "In October, 1872, the German Emperor rendered a decision sustaining the contention of the United States and assigning the island to the Americans." Some day this distinguished scholar may visit Puget Sound. If he does he will be taken to the summit of Mount Constitution on Orcas Island and there he will be shown the wonderful panorama of the "Thousand Islands of the West." Never after that will he refer to "the island" in the San Juan case. Professor Hart of Harvard was given that lesson in 1908 and he is still enthusiastic over the maze of islands in San Juan County, all of which were involved in the arbitration of 1872.

Doctor Dunning's book will find its way into Western libraries both for its message of peace and for its references to the far western lands.

LADD & BUSH QUARTERLY. (Salem, Oregon. Ladd & Bush, Bankers, 1912-1914.)

While devoted to crops and other matters of current business, this quarterly frequently carries articles of historical value. In the number for December, 1914, there appeared an article on "The Resources of Marion Used by the Pacific Fur Company," by the late John Minto, one of the best known Oregon pioneers.

Other Books Received

BABCOCK, KENDRICK CHARLES. The Scandinavian Element in the United States. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. (Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois, 1914. Pp. 223. $1.15.)

BECK, JAMES M. The Evidence in the Case. An Analysis of the Moral Responsibility for the War. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. Pp. xxiv, 200. $1.00.)

BURRAGE, HENRY S. The Beginnings of Colonial Maine, 1602-1658. (Portland, Me. Printed for the State, 1914. Pp. 412.)

CANADA, ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT. Report of the Work of the Public Archives for the year 1913. (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1914. Pp. 304. Map.)

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report, 1914. (Chicago, The Society, 1914. Pp. 146.)

COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C. Records, volume 17. (Washington, The Society, 1914. Pp. 257.)

Contains the writings of George Washington relating to the National Capital.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEWBURGH BAY AND THE HIGHLANDS. Publication Number 16. (Newburgh, New York, The Society, 1914. Pp. 38.)

HOLMES, HERBERT EDGAR. The Makers of Maine. (Lewiston, Me. Haswell Press, 1912. Pp. 251.)

HOYT, WILLIAM HENRY. The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey. Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission. (Raleigh, State Printer, 1914. 2 volumes.)

HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Transactions, Number 20. (Charleston, S. C. The Society, 1914. Pp. 59.)

LIVINGSTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting, 1914. (Geneseo, New York, The Society, 1914. Pp. 62.)

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Second Annual Report, 1914. (Lansing, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 13.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Dedication of a Memorial to Reverend John Tucke, 1702-1773. (Published by the Society, 1914. Pp. 68.)

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Fifth biennial report, 1912-1914. (Raleigh, State Printer, 1914. Pp. 23.)

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES. Acts and Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting, 1914. (Harrisburg, The Federation, 1914. Pp. 111.)

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800. (Providence, The Society, 1915. Pp. 88.)

SHORT, ADAM. Life of the Settler in Western Canada Before the War of 1812. (Kingston, Ontario, 1914. Pp. 18.) Bulletin No. 12 of the Department of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University.

SLADEN, DOUGLAS. The Real "Truth About Germany," Facts About the War. With an Appendix: Great Britain and the War, by

A. Maurice Low. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. Pp. xiii, 274. $1.00.)

SNIFFEN, MATTHEW K. AND CARRINGTON, DOCTOR THOMAS SPEES. The Indians of the Yukon and Tanana Valleys, Alaska. (Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1914. Pp. 35. Illustrations.)

SOUTH DAKOTA. DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY. South Dakota Historical Collections, Volume 7, 1914. (Pierre, State Publishing Company, 1914. Pp. 603. Map, Illustrations.)

TEXAS LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Second Biennial Report, 1911-1912. (Austin, State Printer, 1914. Pp. 80, 355.)

Contains a Calendar of the papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar.

WASHINGTON STATE BAR ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention, 1914. (Olympia, The Association, 1914. Pp. 275.)

Contains obituaries of fifteen members of the state bar who died during the year, 1913-1914.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Honoring Memory of George F. Whitworth

March 15th, at the Whitworth School in Seattle, occurred an episode of historical interest. Under the auspices of the Parent-Teachers' Club, a meeting was held in the schoolhouse at the close of the day's session, attended by a half hundred mothers and three times as many of the older children under the direction of their teachers, drills, patriotic songs and other exercises were presented. An address upon the life, character and times of Rev. Geo. F. Whitworth, after whom the school was named, was made by Mr. Thomas W. Prosch, followed by presentation to the school of his portrait by a son, Mr. F. H. Whitworth, and acceptance of the same by Mr. Reuben W. Jones, Secretary of the Board of Education. The exercises were under the direction of the principal, Miss Emma Hart.

The day chosen for this event was the 99th anniversary of George F. Whitworth's birth. He was a man of much historic interest, being a pioneer of 1853, and one who until his death in 1907 was always engaged in public works of interest and value to the people among whom he dwelt. Saying nothing of his religious and other undertakings, of which much might be said, his efforts as an educator entitled him to every honor and consideration. He was foremost in his day in school matters. He taught the public school in Olympia, was superintendent of Thurston County, and had more to do with the school law enactments of Washington territory than any other person. He was also superintendent in King County and was twice president of the Territorial University. His last great act was the fouoding of a college by and for the Presbyterian Church, of which for a long life time he was an honored member. His associates in this work gave his name to the school, known to the world as Whitworth College, at Spokane, which promises in time to be one of the great denominational institutions of the United States.

The Tacoma Research Club of the State Historical Society

In January, 1915, this club entered on its second year by re-electing the following officers: President, O. B. Sperlin; vice-president, W. R. Andrus; secretary, W. S. Davis. During the past year the following papers have been presented at the regular monthly meetings: "Indian Myths," Mrs. Addie Barlow, of Steilacoom; "Theodore Winthrop as an Historical Scene Painter," John H. Williams, Tacoma; "Philosophical Basis for

the Study of History," Wallace R. Andrus, Tacoma; "Maximilian in Mexico," Prof. W. S. Davis, College of Puget Sound; "Biography of General Isaac I. Stevens," Gen. Hazard Stevens; "Geology of Puget Sound," Prof W. N. Allen, Tacoma; "Geology of Washington," Prof. Henry Landes, U. of W.; "Puget Sound Weather," Prof. W. N. Allen, Tacoma; "First Ascent of Mt. Tacoma," P. B. Van Trump. During the coming year, in addition to the monthly papers and discussions, field trips for the State Historical Society are to be undertaken, especially in the summer vacation time.

Contemporary History

The History Department of the University of Washington has scheduled for the second time an extra course of lectures on Mondays at 4 P. M. as follows: February 8, Professor G. W. Umphrey: The Mexican Situation; February 15, Professor Edward McMahon: The Economic Interpretation of History; March 1, Professor J. Allen Smith: The Centralizing Influences in American Government; March 8, Doctor Ralph H. Lutz: Contemporary Italy; March 15, Doctor G. M. Janes: The European War and Neutrality; March 22, Hon. George F. Cotterill: The Political Revolution of 1910 in England; March 29, Professor H. K. Benson: The European War and American Industries; April 12, Professor H. E. Smith: The New Tariff and Internal Tax Laws; April 19, Professor E. A. Loew: Part Played by Electricity in Recent History; April 26, Professor G. W. Umphrey: Pan-Americanism; May 3, Professor V. Custis: The Movement for Tax Reform; May 10, Professor Theresa McMahon: The Coal Strikes; May 17, Doctor C. Akerman: The Alien Land Ownership Question; May 24, Professor Theresa Mchan: Woman Suffrage.

Recent Researches in Russia

Professor Frank A. Golder, of the State College of Washington, was selected by the History Research Department of the Carnegie Institution to search the archives in Russia. He made considerable progress in St. Petersburg (which became Petrograd while he was there) and in Moscow. The war interrupted his work and he returned to America. He is now in Washington City working over the materials. He has accepted an engagement to give two courses of lectures on his recent work during the next Summer Session in the University of Washington. This will be a rare opportunity for those interested.

General Hazard Stevens Honored

At the annual meeting of the Pioneer and Historical Society of

Thurston County, held in Olympia on February 23, General Hazard Stevens, son of the first Governor of Washington Territory, was elected president by acclamation.

The programme on the occasion included the annual address, "The Trail Blazers," by Hon. C. D. King; "The Old Settler," sung by the audience led by W. R. James; "The Good Old Pioneer Days," an original poem by Mrs. W. S. Shaser.

Allen Weir was continued as Secretary and Curator of the Society.

Death of Four Friends of History

On Tuesday evening, March 30, death took heavy toll from the friends of history in the State of Washington. An automobile, returning from a meeting of the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma, plunged off the bridge into the Duwamish River at Allentown. The result was fatal to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch, Miss Margaret Lenora Denny, and Mrs. Harriet Foster Beecher. The only survivors were Mrs. M. J. Carkeek, owner of the car, and the Japanese chauffeur. The fortunate escape of Mrs. Carkeek is explainable only by the fact that she occupied the seat by the chauffeur, while her guests were held by the tightly fastened curtains that had been sheltering them from the rain.

The whole State was painfully shocked by the accident. All four of the victims were prominent and well beloved.

Margaret Lenora Denny was but a small child when she landed at Alki Point on November 13, 1851, with her father's family. Her father was Arthur A. Denny, who has been counted the leader of that famous little colony from which has grown the City of Seattle. Miss Denny had thus witnessed the entire evolution of a log-cabin colony into a great metropolis. She shared her father's love of accurate historical records and gave generously of time, talent and money to that cause. It was she who paid the bills for the historical monument at Alki Point. She gave the University of Washington an enlarged portrait of one of its first presidents. She was a constant supporter of the Washington Historical Quarterly. In 1911, at the celebration of the semi-centennial of the University of Washington, she unveiled the bronze tablet commemorating the event. Miss Denny was one of the most charitable women in Seattle, though in this, as in all her work, she was modest and unassuming. No one person, nor any one group of persons, can measure the loss that will be felt by her death.

The greater part of Mrs. Beecher's life was spent in Port Townsend. Her talent as an artist made her well known, however, throughout the Northwest. During the last few years her home has been in Seattle, where she has been busy painting portraits of pioneers. One of the last of these

was a beautiful portrait of Miss Denny, with whom she was so suddenly ushered into the Great Beyond.

Mrs. Virginia McCarver Prosch was born on the McCarver Donation Claim in Oregon and with the family of her father, General Morton M. McCarver, was one of the founders of the City of Tacoma. Her sunny smile and cheerful greetings were always welcome at gatherings of pioneers.

Thomas W. Prosch is well known to readers of this Quarterly. He has been one of the Board of Editors from the first and scarcely an issue has been published without one or more articles signed or unsigned from his pen. He was one of the pioneer journalists of Puget Sound. He started to work for himself when a young boy and retired while still in the prime of life. His last years were devoted almost wholly to literature. He was the author of four or five books on pioneer history, as well as of innumerable magazine and newspaper articles of real and lasting merit. He was a tireless worker in such organizations as the Seattle Chamber of Commerce (Judge Thomas Burke now survives him as the last continuous member since the organization of that body), the Pioneers of Washington, Sons of the American Revolution, and the historical societies of Oregon and Washington. As the days roll on there will be many persons and many places that will miss the earnest, willing helpfulness of Thomas W. Prosch.

The daily press recorded the outpouring of sympathy for the surviving families and of respect for the departed at the funerals.

Many organizations have adopted resolutions giving expression to these sentiments. The action most appropriate for reproduction in this Quarterly is that by the Pioneers of Washington. President Samuel L. Crawford appointed the following committee: Major W. V. Rinehart, Judge C. H. Hanford, Edgar Bryan, Clarence B. Bagley, William M. Calhoun and Edmond S. Meany. The committee prepared for the association the following:

"The people of the City of Seattle and the State of Washington have been shocked by the announcement of the sudden tragedy that has overtaken a group of honored and respected pioneers. While in pursuit of their earnest efforts to preserve the pioneer records of their loved Commonwealth for the benefit of generations to follow them, they were called from earth in a moment by an unfortunate accident.

"Thomas Wickham Prosch and his wife, Virginia McCarver Prosch; Miss Margaret Lenora Denny, Mrs. Harriet Foster Beecher, all were loved and respected as pioneers of Seattle and the Puget Sound country during the greater part of their lives. Miss Denny came to Seattle as a small child when her father's family constituted a part of that colony which founded this city. The others came later, but all had witnessed

the city's growth from a village in the wilderness to the metropolis of the present day.

"Words are inadequate to express the feeling of sorrow engendered by this tragedy. All that can now be done is to express our sympathy with the stricken families and to give voice to our appreciation of the noble lives whose untimely end we mourn.

"The Pioneers of Washington, through a committee appointed for the purpose, speak for the pioneers of the State in thus attempting to offer this tribute of their appreciation and their sorrow, as well as of sincere sympathy for the bereaved families."

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in college or high school. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XIV. Early Settlements of Washington

1. Hudson Bay Company Influence.
   a. Trading Post at Nisqually, 1833.
   b. McLoughlin's Efforts to Keep Americans South of the Columbia River.
   c. American Methodist Mission at Nisqually, 1840-1842.
2. Michael T. Simmons.
   a. First American Settler on Puget Sound.
   b. Arrival in Oregon in 1844.
   c. Started with five others for Puget Sound in the winter of 1844-5 but returned.
   d. With eight companions reached Puget Sound in July, 1845.
   e. Canoe exploration to Whidby Island.
   f. Settlement fixed upon near present Olympia.
   g. Name of settlement changed from "New Market" to "Tumwater."
   h. Trip to Fort Vancouver and return with recruits.
   i. Puget Sound never without American settlers from that time.
3. John R. Jackson.
   a. Settled on Jackson Prairie in March, 1845.
   b. He thus preceded the second and successful trip of Simmons.
   c. His home became a primitive court house.
4. Sidney S. Ford and Joseph Borst.
   a. Settled at mouth of Skookum Chuck, 1846.
   b. Ford Prairie became well known.
5. Charles H. and Nathan Eaton.
   a. On east side of Budd Inlet, 1846.

6. Edmund Sylvester and Levi L. Smith.
   a. Settled on townside of Olympia, 1846.
   b. Place first called "Smithfield."
   c. Sylvester succeeded to both claims on death of Smith.

7. Earliest Developments.
   a. Simmons built first gristmill, 1846.
   b. First sawmill built at Tumwater, 1847.
   c. First brick kiln built on farm of Simon Plomondon, 1847.
   d. McLoughlin and Douglas of Hudson Bay Company ordered supplies to be sold to the Americans at reasonable prices.

8. The Year 1847.
   a. Trail blazed from Tumwater to "Smithfield."
   b. Whitman massacre in November.
   c. Few settlements made this year.

9. The Year 1848.
   a. Rev. Pascal Ricard, Oblate Father, established a mission near Olympia.
   b. Thomas W. Glasgow attempted a settlement on Whidby Island.
   c. Samuel Hancock built a wharf on the west side of Budd Inlet.
   d. News of gold discovery in California.

10. The Year 1849.
   a. Gold excitement stopped settlements on Puget Sound.
   b. Incipient Indian war at Fort Nisqually.
   c. United States established Fort Steilacoom.

11. Beginning of Commerce.
   a. Simmons sold out to Crosby and Gray.
   b. Gold seekers returned from California in brig Orbit.
   c. Simmons bought the brig and sent her to San Francisco for merchandise.
   d. First store established at Olympia, 1850.
   e. John M. Swan settled near Olympia.
   f. Lafayette Balch in brig George Emory, refused site at Olympia, began a store near Fort Steilacoom, 1850.

12. Isaac N. Ebey.
   a. Returned from California.
   b. Settled on Whidby Island, 1850.
   c. Influential citizen.
   d. Beheaded by the Indians.

13. Port Townsend.
    a. Henry C. Wilson settled there 1850.
    b. Bachelder, Hastings, Pettygrove and Plummer, 1851.
14. Seattle.
    a. Collins, Maple Brothers and Van Asselt on Duwamish River.
    b. John N. Low and David T. Denny.
    c. The Denny Colony, November 13, 1851.
    d. Twelve adults and twelve children.
    e. Name changed from "New York" to "Alki," meaning "Bye-and-bye."
    f. Cargo of piles for brig Leonesa, Captain Daniel S. Howard.
    g. Part of settlement moved across the bay, 1852.
    h. First steam sawmill by Henry L. Yesler, 1852.
15. New Dungeness.
    a. B. I. Madison and D. F. Brownfield, 1851.
16. Bellingham Bay.
    a. Coal found by William Pattle, 1852.
    b. Whatcom Milling Company organized by Roeder, Peabody and Brown, 1852.
    c. Collins, McLean, Roberts, Lyle, 1853.
17. Sawmills, 1852-1853.
    a. Need of lumber in California.
    b. Yesler's Mill at Seattle.
    c. Sayward at Port Ludlow.
    d. Talbot at Port Gamble.
    e. Renton at Port Blakeley.
    f. Port Madison.
    h. Terry at Alki Point.
18. In Southwest.
    a. Columbia Lancaster at mouth of Lewis River, 1849.
    b. Returning gold hunters settle in Willapa Harbor.
    c. Elijah White's "Pacific City."
    d. Shipping oysters to California..
    e. Scammon at Montesano, 1852.
    f. Huntington and others at mouth of Cowlitz River, 1849.
19. Commencement Bay.
    a. Barnhart, Delin, Judson, 1852-1853.
    b. Morton M. McCarver, 1868.
    c. Name of Tacoma chosen.

20. Eastern Washington.
    a. Fur trading posts.
    b. Discovery of gold.
    c. Indian wars.
    d. Fort Walla Walla.
    e. Stage roads.
    f. Spokane Falls settled, 1872.

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THE LAST STAND OF THE NEZ PERCES*

In the history of the various Indian treaties, perhaps no greater wrong was ever inflicted by the government upon the simple, trusting red men than the one unwittingly planned and carried into effect against the Nez Perces in 1877.

Few of our readers are now familiar with the Nez Perce war of 1877. That war, like many others, is now a forgotten chapter of history. That it originated in greed for gain and ended in injustice and almost in complete annihilation to that unfortunate peace-loving Indian tribe, few will deny and all will condemn. This war, together with its final outcome, is only another instance of the gross severity and hardship too often resulting to the vanquished when a superior race comes into hostile and deadly conflict with an inferior race.

It appears that Lewis and Clark in their expedition across the Continent first met the Nez Perces in 1805 and by them were accorded all the hospitality and good will then possible for this tribe to extend to them. In 1832 we find them sending a delegation to St. Louis asking that Christian missionaries and teachers be sent to them. In response to this appeal, two years later, Whitman and his bride went into the Oregon country to establish a mission. In 1855 the Nez Perces made their first treaty with our government. At this time they claimed a large territory in eastern Oregon, Washington and Central Idaho, bounded on the east by the main divide of the Bitter Root Mountains and including the lower Grande Ronde and Salmon Rivers, with a large part of the Snake and all of the Clearwater districts. By this treaty, however, they ceded to the United States the greater portion of their territory and in return for this cession, they were confirmed in the possession of a reservation including the Wallowa Valley in Oregon.

In the early '70s, gold having been discovered in the mountains, prospectors and stockmen with their herds invaded the entire region and a new treaty was forced upon them by which a majority of the Indian bands agreed to surrender all but a small reservation at Lapwai, Idaho. It seems evident that unfair means were used to secure this treaty and once

secured, the government resorted to no measures to right a great wrong perpetrated upon the Nez Perces.

The band who had long dwelt in the beautiful fertile Wallowa Valley had opposed this false treaty, refused to leave their homes and the effort to remove them brought into historical notice the head of the Nez Perce Nation, Chief Joseph, who as a human being, a warrior, a leader, and the representative of his people, ranks high above King Philip or Pontiac, superior to Osceola, Black Hawk or Sitting Bull and the equal of Tecumseh, and the noblest of them all in times of disaster, peril and misfortune.

Relying upon the terms of the treaty of 1855 and the oft repeated assurances of the Great Father at Washington, they refused to leave their home in the Wallowa Valley.

This refusal led to the Nez Perce war of 1877, in which, under Joseph's brilliant leadership, several severe defeats were inflicted upon successive detachments of the United States regular troops dispatched to intercept these Indians attempting to migrate.

To fight the United States government seems to have been no part of the plan or purpose of Joseph, but when the conflict began between the bad Indians and the lawless white men, Joseph, finding himself unable to control these lawless elements, reluctantly prepared for emergencies.

When Joseph fully realized that the United States troops had been sent to drive him and his band from the Wallowa Valley, he determined to migrate to Canada, declaring that he and his people would have nothing more to do with a government which would ruthlessly rob them of their lands which had been formally guaranteed to them by the treaty of 1855, but that they would seek new homes under the Dominion Government that would keep its promises inviolate and would never break faith with them.

This resolution, once taken by Chief Joseph, was caught up by his people and was their slogan in all their subsequent wanderings. All was now bustle and activity in gathering their moveable property and making other hasty preparations for their departure. With a strong force of United States troops near at hand, the critical situation required skill, leadership and executive ability of high order, all of which qualities Joseph possessed in a wonderful degree.

To the student, this is a faint reminder of the Helvetians' migration from the narrow valleys of Switzerland in Caesar's time, but there is no parallel. The Helvetians deliberately planned conquest. The Nez Perces, driven from their homes, retreated before a superior military power.

The United States troops being alert in pursuit, Joseph soon found that all direct routes to Canada were cut off and, having fought and out-

manouvered the United States soldiers in Idaho under General O. O. Howard, the Nez Perces were forced to go east through Lolo Pass into Montana. However, when Joseph had gained his way by strategy through Lolo Pass, he notified the people of Stevensville and other points in the Bitter Root Valley, that he only wanted a way to peaceably migrate; that he would have a way; that if not attacked, he would not harm any of the residents or molest property and that he would pay a fair price for all supplies necessary to sustain his people on their arduous journey. On the part of the Indians, this pledge was strictly kept.

At Stevensville,* Joseph, learning that Mullan Pass, near Helena, was guarded by a strong force, went south up the Bitter Root Valley and over the continental divide into the Big Hole Basin, always about four days in advance of the pursuing troops under General O. O. Howard, but the following day after the departure of the Indians, a battalion of United States cavalry, under Major Gibbon, came into Stevensville from the north, and was joined by a company of volunteer citizens, who eagerly went in hostile pursuit of their late guests, who had carefully observed their pledges in purchasing and paying in gold for supplies in passing through their country. Although surprised by a fierce cavalry charge on their camp in the Big Hole Basin just before break of day, the Nez Perces rallied and defeated this combined force under Major Gibbons in a desperate battle with frightful losses on both sides. Thirty-three soldiers were killed and sixty wounded.

About one hundred Indians were killed in their camp, many squaws and children. After burying their dead and taking away their wounded, the Indians, ignoring the defeated command of Gibbons, who helpless was camped on a bluff near the scene of the tragedy, pursued their way eastward over the lofty rugged mountains of the Yellowstone National Park, again turning northward, crossed the valleys of the Yellowstone and the Missouri, and late in September the wretched remnant of the former peaceable Nez Perce nation were encamped in a little valley on the northwest slope of the Bear Paw Mountains engaged in drying buffalo meat. Knowing that General Howard's command was about six days behind them, the Indians here, as at Big Hole Basin, did not suspect an enemy near.

As the events of that terrible journey over lofty mountains, plains and rivers have been carefully narrated by historians, it is the purpose of this article to tell briefly the tragic story of the last battle and final surrender as related by surviving participants.

To account for the disastrous attack made on this position by cavalry

*As Joseph had made annual trips east over the mountains to hunt buffalo in central and eastern Montana for twenty-five years, he was familiar with all the mountain passes and was personally known to many citizens of Stevensville, Missoula and Helena.

and infantry, it is necessary to explain that the Nez Perce camp, about six acres in extent, was well chosen for defense.

Intersected by coulees about five feet deep and protected on the south and west by low bluffs and a tortuous stream which at that season is a dry channel—in fact, the south end of the camp bordered a rather steep bank about twenty-five feet high; to the north the ground is broken but the banks are not so high. However, a vigilant foe is near at hand, which the Nez Perces, only eighty miles from the Dominion line, must encounter on the morrow.

During the night of September 29th Col. N. A. Miles, led by a scout, Jack Mail, in command of a detachment of the United States Army, had made his way north along the eastern slope of the Bear Paw Mountains, passed the northern limit of that range, then turned southward in search of the camp of the unsuspecting Nez Perce. About 7:00 a. m., September 30th, the trail of the Nez Perce was discovered by Cheyenne scouts who, eagerly following, soon came upon the camp about six miles from where the trail was first discovered. On reaching a low ridge between Peoples Creek and Snake Creek, Colonel Miles beheld to the southeast, the Indian herds, hundreds of horses, mules and cayuses, scattered over the hills, quietly grazing. Also, the tops of the Indian teepees were just visible, about two thousand yards distant.

The force under Colonel Miles consisted of three companies of the famous Seventh Cavalry, commanded respectively by Captain Hale, Captain Moylan and Captain Godfrey; two companies of the Second Cavalry and three companies of mounted infantry.

With slight reconnoisance, Colonel Miles ordered Captain Hale to form his battalion (three companies of Seventh Cavalry) in battle line advance and charge direct the southern end of the camp. Captain Tyler, with two companies of the Second Cavalry and thirty Cheyenne scouts, was ordered to approach the north part of the camp to prevent escape and to capture the pony herds. Colonel Miles approached the left with three companies of mounted infantry with pack trains. All advanced about 9:00 a. m. The Seventh Cavalry trotted forward in battle line and from Colonel Miles' column could be seen sweeping forward over the undulating prairie. In the depressions of the land they were out of sight; on the ascending slopes of the succeeding ridges, the orderly columns reappear and roll over the crest and disappear. Then at last near the lodges they are lost to the view of their anxious comrades; for a few minutes the dreadful silence is unbroken; then a few scattered shots are heard, followed by the terrible roar and din of musketry. All are in

suspense and press forward to learn the fate of the gallant men of the Seventh.

Some minutes passed in awful uncertainty, when Lieutenant Eckerson, alone, covered with the blood from his wounds, rushed to Colonel Miles with the words, "I am the only d—— man of the Seventh Cavalry who wears shoulder straps, alive." In fact, Lieutenant Eckerson had seen every officer shot down, either killed or wounded. Colonel Miles immediately ordered the infantry to attack and the four pound howitzers to occupy the ridge northwest of the Indian camp. One rider and two of the four mules were killed, the gun left pointing toward the attacking force until night, when it was stationed and defense built, but at daylight it was discovered not to command the Indian camp. Captain Tyler, in command of the Second Cavalry with the Cheyenne scout, during the battle succeeded, however, in capturing the ponies, thereby cutting off all possibility of escape on the part of the Nez Perces.

The Indian story of this attack will more clearly account for this bloody repulse of the Seventh Cavalry. On this fateful September morning, the Indians were unconscious of any danger at hand; about 8:00 a. m. a Nez Perce boy, who had gone out to secure his pony, discovered the Cheyenne scouts and gave the alarm which caused every warrior to sieze his rifle and choose a position with the purpose of repelling the attack of the enemy. Within thirty minutes some of the lodges had been struck, loaded on about one hundred ponies and with a large number of the women and children, accompanied by about sixty warriors, were rushed out at first attack. Soon appeared the charging column of the Seventh Cavalry, officers boldly riding in front, not four hundred yards distant. The Indians from concealed positions withheld their fire until the front line of cavalry was within one hundred yards of the steep bank which protected the southwest end of the Indian camp. The momentum of the charge massed the troopers in confusion on the fatal brink of that line defended by the accurate fire, at close range, of the Indians concealed near the top of their natural defense. Within five minutes the charge of the cavalry had been repelled; the brave officers, Captain Hale and Lieutenant Biddle and fourteen troopers were left dead on the field in front of the Indian camp; nearly one-fifth of the attacking force were killed. Several of the wounded officers and troopers were left on the field until nightfall, but they were visited by the Indians, who, after taking their arms and ammunition, supplied them with water and neither harmed the wounded nor in any way mutilated the dead.

But returning to the story of the attacking force: About 1:00 p. m., all previous efforts having failed, Colonel Miles decided to make a concerted attack. Troops A and D, having lost every officer in the first

charge, were now placed under the command of Capt. Henry Romeyn of the Fifth Infantry, and were ordered to attack the Indians on the southwest. At the signal to charge, the infantry, under Capt. Simon Snyder, made every possible effort to reach the Indian lines, but owing to the advantage of the strong defensive position and the deadly fire of the Indians, only one small Campony I, under Lieutenant Mason Carter, with fourteen men, succeeded in crossing the coulee. Of these, five were killed outright; the others concealed themselves in the gullies until nightfall, when they rejoined their comrades. In this attack Captain Henry Romeyn was desperately wounded. All attacks proving futile, by 3:00 p. m. a siege was determined upon. Although Colonel Miles' command outnumbered the Indian warriors, the situation on October 1st was critical, for the reason that the camp of the renegade Sioux, under Sitting Bull, was just over the Canadian boundary, only eighty miles distant. Joseph was, in fact, hourly expecting relief from that source, for on the night of September 30th, he had despatched six of his most trusted warriors to go to the camp of Sitting Bull for aid. The terrible fate of the six Nez Perces sent out that night is a story of treachery: About daylight on the 30th, these six Indians went into a camp of the Assinniboines, who welcomed and flattered them, all unsuspecting danger. The treacherous Assinniboines suddenly fell upon and murdered their guests, solely for the sake of securing their fine rifles and other valuable accountrements, not common in the wretched camp of the degenerate Assinniboines.

The morning of the first of October was very cold, with six inches of snow. There was not an Indian in sight; they had dug rifle pits during the night. Colonel Miles held a conference with Joheph, who offered to return to his old home in Oregon, but positively refused to surrender, and the skirmish was resumed. Later in the day, Colonel Miles wishing to terminate the useless struggle, induced George Cavanaugh (Cayuse George), a squaw man, to bring Chief Joseph out for another conference. Cayuse George approached stealthily and halloed for perhaps a half hour; finally a squaw came out to learn what he wanted. Joseph later informed him through the same messenger that if he wanted to see him to go back to the tent of Colonel Miles and then come down the hill in front of the camp. For this service Lieutenant Jerome offered his famous black horse, which was accepted by "George," who rode into the Indian camp. A few minutes later, the black horse, carrying both Joseph, under assurance of safe conduct, and Cayuse George, galloped up to the tent of Colonel Miles. Terms of capitulatiion were soon arranged. Then at last, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct, Joseph was retained in the camp of Colonel Miles.

Lieutenant Jerome, with Cayuse George, was sent to receive the sur-

render of the Indians. Bobby Graham, a camp follower, also stole into the Indian camp. At first the Indians stacked their guns, under the direction of Lieutenant Jerome; then Chief White Bird took up his gun, saying that if he gave up his gun, he gave up his life, as he had killed some settlers on the way. Other Indians asked for Joseph, then took back their guns. Cayuse George rode the black horse back to the camp of Colonel Miles. In the meanwhile, the Indians threw Bobby Graham ingloriously out of camp. Lieutenant Jerome was held by the Indians. It was afterward learned that the squaws put him into a rifle pit and carefully provided that he would receive no injury during the night.

The skirmish was actively renewed. It is reported that Looking Glass, a noble, humane young chief, was killed that night. However, at this time many of the young warriors, under the treacherous White Bird, had left camp and made their escape into Canada. In the early morning of October 2nd, an Indian came boldly up the hill into camp and inquired for Colonel Miles in excellent English, declined coffee, which was offered, and stated that he had come to see Joseph. When he had been conducted to Joseph and learned that his chief was safe, he stated that they held Lieutenant Jerome, but were ready to exchange. The exchange was effected between the lines and hostilities were renewed.

However, on October 1st, the wagon train, with a twelve pound brass cannon, arrived under the command of Captain Brotherton of the Fifth Infantry. During the day of October 2nd, the fire of the gun produced no effect and that evening Colonel Miles took the twelve pounder across Snake Creek and planted it west of the Indian camp, out of range of the Indian guns, and a strong force of both cavalry and infantry guarded it during the night. General Howard, whose army was distant about fifty miles south, arrived in Colonel Miles' camp on the evening of October 2nd with an escort of thirty men.

On the morning of October 3rd, the twelve pounder opened fire. The first shell exploded on the ridge and inflicted no damage. Colonel Miles observed the effect and said to the gunner, "Cut her a little shorter." The second shell exploded right in the center of the camp. Lodge poles, Indians and dogs all seemed to be in the air. The Indians showed willingness to surrender. After much delay, the surrender was made that evening. Having determined to surrender, Joseph, surrounded by his people, started on foot, but on leaving camp, he mounted his pony and rode direct to the headquarters. Handing his carbine to Colonel Miles, he stated that he surrendered and would never again resist the authority of the United States.

To account for the number of Indians, it is necessary to mention that on the first day of the battle, Lieutenant McClearnand, with G troop of

the Second Cavalry, pursued for five miles and attacked the party which had left camp at first outbreak, but he was repulsed and driven back by the Indians, who rejoined Joseph that night. White Bird and his band, who had committed depredations on the way, escaped during the night of October 2nd and went over into the Canadian territory. Joseph remained for the protection of his helpless followers. In this connection, the following statement of the numbers engaged, casualties and the Indians surrendered is given by Major Henry Romeyn, who in 1905 was living at Fort Meyer, Virginia. Colonel Miles' entire command, including thirty Cheyenne scouts, was about 350; losses, killed, 2 officers and 22 enlisted men and 2 Cheyenne scouts; wounded, 5 officers, 38 enlisted men. Nez Perces: 17 killed; 40 wounded; surrendered, 87 men, 184 women and 147 children. The latter were detained some months at Fort Keogh and were then conveyed to Indian Territory, where by death their number was reduced to 280 within seven years, when through the intercession of General Miles, they were removed to Colville Agency, Washington, in 1884.

The humanity and noble generosity of the Nez Perces in caring for the wounded soldiers on the battle field furnish the brightest page in Indian history. In fact, the Nez Perces had never scalped or mutilated the bodies of their dead foes or tortured a prisoner.

Chief Joseph, who died September 18, 1904, was universally honored by his people and held in high esteem by the United States Government as a man of lofty character. He was the last as well as the greatest of the famous Indian leaders of the nineteenth century. He was, without doubt, the ablest of his race since the days of Joseph Brant, Theyendenega, the famous Mohawk chieftain.

An incident of the removal of the Nez Perces from Fort Keogh illustrates the fine sentiment, character and the ready sacrifice of life itself for their offspring. The steamer which carried them down the Missouri River was so heavily loaded that the lower deck was near the water line; a young squaw, carrying her "papoose" in the usual way on her back, stooped to dip drinking water; the papoose fell out of its holding over her head into the river; without an instant's hesitation the young mother sprang into the water and disappeared in that swift current, and although neither rose to the surface, the steamer was not even checked to learn their fate.

As the water of the Missouri rolled over the bodies of mother and child, so has the white race remorselessly oppressed and almost exterminated the best distinctive character of the North American Indians.

The crystal lakes, the forest canons of the Powder River Mountains and the rich meadows of the Wallowa Valley no longer know the dusky

faces of the red man. The prosperous villages* and farms of the relentless invader have supplanted them.

Their names only remain to remind us of the Nez Perce, who for nearly a century, had been the friend of the white man.

NELSON C. TITUS.

*Joseph, Enterprise, Wallowa.

JAPANESE VIEWS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

"East is East and West is West
Never the twain shall meet."

The terms East and West, showing opposite directions, convey on the surface divergent differences, but it is forgotten that the earth is round, and the so-called farthest East touches the farthest West.

According to many historians civilization originated in the garden of Tigris Euphrates, and from this region one moved to the Eastward and the other Westward. The Eastward movement produced Indo Chinese civilization, and finally came upon Japan where the march had been stopped by the third Shogun of Tokugawa who closed the country, 250 years ago. While the Eastern civilization thus stopping at an Island Empire in the Far East, the Westward movement which had developed into Grecian, Roman, German, French and English civilization running into the new continent and there was also thought at an end when it reached to the Pacific shore. But the Ocean, in spite of its vastness, did not form impassable barrier, but a bridge across which that Westward march of civilization was to continue. The time finally came, and through the American Commodore M. C. Perry the Eastern current of civilization was met with its Westward current, about half a century ago, when he knocked at the door of Japan in 1853.

There is no nation in the world that has had such experience and vicissitudes, as well as progress, as Japan for the last fifty years, neither are there any two nations on the face of the earth with such romantic relations and affections as those of Japan and the United States. The United States, on the shore of Uraga, where now an imperishable marble stands the staute of Commodore Perry, importuned Japan to yield and opened her door to trade and commerce. And today one might even wonder whether the United States of America would have come to existance had it not been for the existance of Japan,—the meaning is this: Unless Columbus had read in Marco Polo of the wealth of Japan he would not have started on his voyage of discovery. Moreover was it not Japan that supplied tea in the harbor of Boston which proved to be the signal of American Independence?

I think it is not useless to remind here a brief history how the American

*The author, Oshima Shoichi, is a graduate of the Japanese Imperial University at Tokyo. He recently entered the University of Washington for graduate work.—Editor.

Commodore knocked the front and how the first minister, Mr. Townsend Harris, opened the door.

We know that the question of establishing commercial relations with Japan had occupied public attention in the United States for more than twenty years before Perry's arrival.

Both in official and business circles the matter had been much discussed. A resolution in favor of a mission being sent to Japan had been proposed in the House of Representatives, and as early as the year 1832 the United States Government had sent to Commodore Roberts, then in command of the American squadron in Chinese waters, instructions regarding a mission to Japan, for the purpose of opening a trade, which were to be acted upon if he thought advisable. If he decided to undertake this mission, he was to charter a private vessel, and letters of credence in which the proper title of the Emperor was to be inserted, when ascertained, were furnished to him.

But by the harsh treatment received on various occasions by the crews of American whalers wrecked on the coasts of Yezo and neighboring islands and by the experience of the "Morrison" in 1837, Washington Government decided to take the new and vigorous policy. The "Morrison" was a British merchant vessel, and chartered by an American mercantile house at Macao for the purpose of restoring to their country seven shipwrecked Japanese. The "Morrison" was received with undisguised hostility. She was not allowed to communicate with the shore, and she was twice fired upon, first in Yedo Bay, where she arrived and afterwards at Kagoshima.

In 1845 the "Mercator," an American whaler, rescued some Japanese sailors at sea and took them to the bay of Yedo. On anchoring she was surrounded by several hundred armed boats and deprived of her arms and ammunition. After a detention of three days orders for her release came from Yedo.

In the same year Commodore Biddle endeavored, under instructions from Washington, to open relations with Japan. He came with two men-of-war and anchored in Yedo Bay. And at the request of the Japanese he explained in writing the reason for her visit. But his mission was a failure. The Yedo Government, in a written reply, refused definitely to enter into trading relations, and with this answer Commodore Biddle withdrew.

Four years later the American man-of-war "Preble" was sent to Nagasaki to fetch away the shipwrecked crew of a whaler. She had some difficulty in accomplishing her object, which was only effected after a show of force.

In no way discouraged by the result of Commodore Biddle's visit,

the United States Government persevered in their policy of opening Japan to foreign trade. In 1851 instructions with that object were sent to Commodore Aulick on the China station, together with a letter from President Fillmore addressed to the Emperor of Japan. For some reason which does not appear these instructions were not acted upon, but in the following year the matter was again taken up, fresh credentials were prepared and Commodore Perry received orders to proceed to Japan on a mission which assumed almost the dimensions of a naval expedition.

The objects of his mission were explained by the State department to be threefold; to make an arrangement for the more humane treatment of American sailors who might be shipwrecked on the coasts of Japan; to obtain the opening of one or more harbors as ports of call for American vessels and the establishment of a coal depot; and to secure permission for trade at such ports as might be opened.

No secrecy surrounded the intentions of the United States. They were known in Europe as well as in America. Macfarlane, writing in London in 1852, says with some exaggeration, "The attention of the whole civilized world is now fixed on the American expedition."

On July 8, 1853, Commodore Perry, with four men-of-war anchored in Uraga harbor. His instructions were to obtain the facilities desired by persuasion, if possible, but if necessary by force, and there is evidence to show that he was ready, if authorized, to take such strong measures as the occupation of territory to effect his object.

Perry was asked by the Japanese at Urago to go to Nagasaki, this being, he was told, its only place where foreign ships were allowed to come. He refused, and asked for an interview on shore, at which he could deliver the letter he had brought. After a few days' negotiation the Japanese gave way. The interview on shore was granted and Perry delivered the President's letter and his own credentials as envoy. In the formal receipt given to him it was admitted that the letter had only been accepted under compulsion. On July 17, three days after the interview, Perry sailed for the Loochoos, where he had called on his way to Japan.

In December of the same year Perry received a letter from the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, written at the request of the Japanese Government, telling him of the Shogun's death having occurred soon after the receipt of the President's letter, and asking him to postpone his return to Japan, as everything there was in confusion. Perry, in his reply, thanked the Governor General for the news, but announced no change in his plan.

On February 12, 1854, he arrived in Japan again, this time with six ships, and on the following day sailed up the bay of Yedo and anchored at a spot twelve miles above Uraga. He was urged by the

Japanese to go to Uraga, or Kamakura and hold a conference there. This, however, he declined to do, and on the 25th he moved further up the bay, anchoring off Kanagawa. The Japanese then proposed that the conference should take place at Yokohama, a village quite close to Kanagawa. To this Perry agreed, and about a month later his negotiations were brought to a successful issue by the signature of the Treaty of the 31st of March, which opened the Ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to American vessels, the former at once, the latter at the end of a year. The treaty was ratified by the President of the United States July, 1854, and ratifications exchanged at Shimoda, February 21st, 1855. The Treaty consisted of 12 articles, including the following:

"The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix in a manner clear and positive by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special embassador of the United States to Japan, and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his Commissioners, Hayashi Daigaku-no-Kami, Ido, Prince of Tsussima, Izawa, Prince of Mimasaka, and Udono, member of the Board of Revenue. And the said Commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following Articles:"

And Article I says:

"I. There shall be a perfect permanent and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part and the Empire of Japan on the other part and between their people respectively without exception of persons or places."

The signature of Perry's treaty was shortly followed by its conclusion of arrangements with other powers, with the British, the Russians, and the Dutch.

First in order comes the British convention. This was negotiated at Nagasaki, in October of the same year, 1854, by Admiral Stirling, who came with a squadron of four vessels. This treaty was signed October 14th and ratified January 23rd, 1855.

Four months later the Russian Admiral, Poutiatine, concluded a treaty at Shimoda, and with the Dutch on November 9, 1855.

The first American consul-general to Japan was Mr. Townsend Harris, and he arrived in Japan in August, 1856. He at once opened long negotiations with the Japanese ministers and finally the American Convention was concluded at Simoda, June 7th, 1857. And in the fol-

lowing year the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, between the United States and Japan, was settled in February. But the new Treaty was decided to refer it before signature to Kioto for the approval of the Throne. And the minister who had taken the most prominent part in the negotiations, Hotta Bitchiuno Kami, was sent to Kioto to obtain the Imperial consent, but the court had signified its desapproval of the negotiations, and he returned, having failed in his mission. The anti-foreign feeling was too strong.

The signature of the treaty was accordingly postponed till September, and the American negotiator returned to Shimado to await the result of further overtures to Kioto. Very soon after his return, however, an American man-of-war arrived with the news that the war in China had terminated and that the English and French ambassadors to China were on their way to Japan to negotiate treaties. He at once proceeded in this vessel to Kanagawa, and urged from there by letter the necessity for the immediate signature of the treaty. His representations, assisted by the presence of Iikamono Kami at the head of affairs, had the desired effect, and without waiting any longer for consent from Kioto the treaty was signed at Kanagawa on board the American man-of-war on July 29.

The ice having been broken, other treaties followed in rapid succession, all on the same general lines, thus proving the correctness of the opinion given by Harris that what was satisfactory to the United States would be acceptable to other powers. The Dutch signed theirs on the 18th of August, the Russians on the 19th, the British on the 26th and the French on the 7th of October.

Now the door was open, and the Western seeds sown in, and of the character of Commodore Perry and Mr. Harris, all the Japanese admired and respected Americans. They invited American teachers, experts, missionaries and merchants to westernize her institutions, hitherto feudalistic, and pursued the course as best they could according to the wise guidance of these Americans.

We surely thank the American fleet which brought such a kind hearted awakening and a message of friendly counsel, instead of conquer, or colonize. The happy consonance between the knocking at the door from without and response from within has created a new era in Japan, and she has ever since been faithful to her new destiny. The new destiny, that her course should lie midway between East and West, and that to build a stone firmly in the bridge which binds together these two great civilizations.

We can easily find that Japan and the United States, though differing in many ways, have one thing in common so far as diplomacy is concerned. That is, both nations have rapidly jumped into prominence

as world powers, and therefore are more or less misunderstood, disliked, criticized, and even feared and hated in some quarters. Late Prince Katsura once said, "The only fault we Japanese are conscious of is, we have made too rapid progress!"

It was this widespread fear that the United States would become too prominent and powerful that explains much of the attitude of European Statesmen towards the United States during the era of Independence and just after. At first no government would receive American diplomatic agents, nor recognize the United States in any way. American agents were treated with contempt and not even permitted to enter the capitals of Europe in many cases. Only France, being the enemy of England, allowed American diplomats to live in Paris and gave most valuable assistance and sympathy, though not officially. When the war of Independence was successfully ended, DeAranda, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to the King of Spain: "This Republic is born a pigmy, but a day will come when it will be a giant. In a few years we shall watch with grief the vast power of this giant."

France, England and Spain had vast possessions in the Western Hemisphere and those of Spain were under extreme forms of despotism that were radically opposed to the liberties of the new Republic. And when these Spanish colonies in South America revolted from the despotism of Spain and established republican forms of government European monarchies had extreme anxiety with all this political liberty and therefore the three great powers, Russia, Austria and Prussia, formed in 1815 what they called the "Holy Alliance," the evident purpose of which was to check the growth of republican governments and possibly to establish again Spanish despotism in South America. It was indeed this secret threat from Europe that called out some of the best diplomacy in the United States.

The Republic felt that if Europe was permitted to build up monarchies in South America these would be a standing peril to the Republic, and so the determination was taken never to permit European interference in any of the governments of the entire Western Hemisphere. The cry of "America for Americans" was then heard for the first time. Thus the famous policy called the "Monroe Doctrine" was given to the world in 1823. Its main principals may be briefly cited in the words of President Jefferson: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entanble ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to interfere with political affairs in the Western Hemisphere."

While recognizing the right of England in Canada and the existing monarchies of Mexico and Brazil, this Monroe Doctrine has not only prevented any colonization of the Western Hemisphere by European govern-

ments and the establishing of any monarchy, but it has controlled the destiny of all the great islands near America.

For instance, when it was rumored that Spain was about to sell Cuba to France, the United States Government informed Spain that she was at liberty to retain and govern Cuba, but not to sell or transfer it to any other power, which act would be regarded as unfriendly to the United States. The statement from the Secretary of State, said "We can never consent that Cuba shall become a colony of any other European power. In the possession of a strong naval power it might prove ruinous both to our domestic and foreign commerce, and even endanger the Union of the States. The highest and first duty of every independent nation is to provide for its own safety." The protest against the Maximilian Empire in Mexico in 1866 and the declaration of war upon Spain in 1898 were quite the same reason.

These circumstances we can see in Japan's situation. Korea is the "Cuba of the Far East" and Russia's occupation of that peninsula would be a peril to Japan's national existence, just as Cuba to the United States. So Japan fought against Russia for "to provide for its own safety." Let me here refer to a rumor, in a few years ago, that Russia was about to sell the northern half of Sagalien to the United States. In case it were true Japan would be justified in saying that the sale of North Karafuto to any western power would be regarded as "dangerous to the peace and safety of Japan." China is the "Mexico of Asia," and its unsettled situation and the establishment by any other strong power of any footstand is also "dangerous to the peace and safety of Japan."

So the Okuma cabinet recently proposed to the Chinese government that to agree no island, port or harbor along the coast shall be ceded or leased to any third power. But this does not mean any territorial ambition. Its only object is to effectively protect the territorial integrity of China and to make the Far East a well united whole, where East and West meet in peace and good understanding, so that the purpose of its political, economic, financial and social interest, in fact, its civilization in general, may be best served and adjusted.

Count Okuma, premier, declared in regard to the Manchurian question, "If China is powerful enough and there is not a least fear of Manchuria being occupied by any one of the foreign powers, there is no necessity for Japan being obliged to occupy Manchuria. The motives of Japan for the occupation of Manchuria is not aggression of Chinese territory, but simply for the fear that it may fall into the hands of any other foreign country, in which case a great pressure would be applied on Japan. Thus I am inclined to an opinion that until the time arrives when China would

be powerful enough to uphold Manchuria by herself, it is better for Japan to occupy Manchuria."

We know that the territorial preservation of China, commands international respect as the result of a solemn pledge entered into by the leading powers of the world. But how well and faithfully this pledge may be observed and how far this may be facilitated, the duty of showing falls principally on Japan, because of her geographical and political position. In short, Japan stands a trustee to the powers for the peace and well being of the Far East, and she must be invested with the status and power commensurate with this important office. That Japan is not spurred by her own ambitions to assume this role will be most clearly seen if any one will imagine what would happen on her effacement from the Far Eastern stage. It will thus be seen that Japan's ideals and necessity dovetail exactly with the peace in the East Asia and Far Eastern interest of the other powers.

Now the great East and the great West are coming together and the two nations that confront each other across the Pacific are Japan and the United States. These are the two nations that must bear the burden of solving the greatest diplomatic questions the world has even seen.

Therefore there is imperative need that we fully understand each other in the very largest and deepest and completest way. We must emphasize each other's best point in order to strengthen mutual trust and to conquer mutual suspicions. We must prove in the concrete that there is no impossible gulf between the East and West, by basing our friendship not so much on treaties as on a larger and broader mutual knowledge that no temporary misunderstanding can weaken and destroy. And the mightiest of the oceans, instead of becoming like unto the old Mediterranean, where the East and the West—Carthage and Rome—met in the one hundred years' war for decisive battle of race supremacy, Japan and the United States have made it the Man's theater of supreme achievement, of peace and prosperity of mankind.

In conclusion Japan cannot get along without the sympathy and friendship of the United States, nor can the United States get along without the friendship of Japan. Each has profound need of the other, and while the "Monroe Doctrine" is the basis of Century peace of the Western Hemisphere, the "Asia for the Asiatics" is the key of peace in the Far East. And we have no doubt that the fact is perfectly well understood in America.

OSHIMA SHOICHI.

ORGANIZERS OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENT IN OREGON

[George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society, has for many years worked earnestly on the task of preparing the statistics of those who participated in the famous meeting at Champoeg on May 2, 1843, when the Provisional Government of Oregon was organized. At that time Oregon embraced all of Washington, Idaho, parts of Montana, Wyoming and British Columbia, as well as the area that has retained the old name. The Champoeg meeting is, therefore, important to the history of the entire Northwest. Mr. Himes has compiled a beautiful souvernir of the seventy-second anniversary of the meeting and its fifteenth annual celebration at Old Champoeg, thirty-three miles south of Portland, on Saturday, May 1, 1915. From Mr. Himes's souvernir the following is reproduced that readers of this Quarterly may possess the valuable record.—Editor.]

Champoeg was the site of the first Hudson's Bay Company's warehouse on the Willamette River, south of Oregon City, and the shipping point of the first wheat in that valley, beginning about 1830. The ease with which it could be reached by land or water by the settlers was the cause of its being chosen as the place of meeting on May 2, 1843.

Following is the official record of the meeting held at what they called Champooick, May 2, 1843:

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette settlements, held in accordance with the call of the committee chosen at a former meeting, for the purpose of taking steps to organize themselves into a civil community, and provide themselves with the protection secured by the enforcement of law and order, Dr. I. L. Babock was chosen chairman, and Messrs. Gray, Le Breton and Willson, secretaries. The committee made their report, which was read, and a motion was made that it be accepted, which was lost.

Considerable confusion existing in consequence, it was moved by Mr. Le Breton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted, those in favor of the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a great majority being found in favor of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew.

It was then moved and carried that the report of the committee be taken up, and disposed of article by article. A motion was made and carried that a supreme judge, with probate powers, be chosen to officiate in

this community. Moved and carried that a clerk of the court, or recorder, be chosen. Moved and carried that a sheriff be chosen. Moved and carried that three magistrates be chosen. Moved and carried that three constables be chosen. Moved and carried that a committee of nine persons be chosen for the purpose of drafting a code of laws for the government of this community, to be presented to a public meeting to be hereafter called by them, on the fifth day of July next, for their acceptance.

A motion was made and carried that a treasurer be chosen. Moved and carried that a major and three captains be chosen. Moved and carried that we now proceed to choose the persons to fill the various offices by ballot. A. E. Wilson was chosen to act as supreme judge, with probate powers. G. W. Le Breton was chosen to act as clerk of court, or recorder, J. L. Meek was chosen to fill the office of sheriff. W. H. Willson was chosen treasurer. Moved and carried that the remainder of the officers be chosen by hand ballot, and nomination from the floor.

Messrs. Hill, Shortess, Newell, Beers, Hubbard, Gray, O'Neil, Moore and Doughty were chosen to act as the legislative committee.

Messrs. Burns, Judson and A. T. Smith were chosen to act as magistrates. Messrs. Ebberts, Bridges and Lewis were chosen to act as constables. Mr. John Howard was chosen major. Messrs. Wm. McCarty, C. McKay and S. Smith were chosen captains. Moved and carried that the legislative committee make their report on the 5th day of July next at Champooick.

Moved and carried that the services of the legislative committee be paid for at $1.25 per day, and that the money be raised by subscription.

Moved and carried that the major and captains be instructed to enlist men to form companies of mounted riflemen. Moved and carried that an additioinal magistrate and constable be chosen. Mr. Campo was chosen as an additional magistrate. Mr. Matthieu was chosen as an additional constable. Moved and carried that the legislative committee shall not sit over six days. The meeting was then adjourned. The question having arisen with regard to what time the newly-appointed officers shall commence their duties, the meeting was again called to order, when it was moved and carried that the old officers remain in office till the laws are made and accepted, or until the next public meeting.

Attest: G. W. Le Breton.

Another record of the meeting is as follows from the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association, pages 61-2, 1875:

"When the vote was about to be taken, George W. Le Breton, believing there was a fair chance for the adoption of the report of the committee, said: 'We can risk it—let us divide and count.' As quick as tongue could utter the words, William H. Gray emphasized the proposition

by saying with great animation, 'I second the motion.' Jo. Meek thundered out with an earnestness not less than that he would manifest in an attack upon a grizzly bear—'Who's for a divide?' and as he stepped quickly and nervously in front of the settlers, he added in a voice that rang clear out as though it was the death knell to anarchy, 'All for the report of the committee and organization, will follow me.' This move was sudden and quite unexpected at that stage of the proceedings, and it was electrical in its effect. Americans followed the patriotic and large-hearted trapper and his Rocky Mountain companions and their allies and they counted fifty-two, while their adversaries numbered but fifty. Then in the 'three cheers for our side,' proposed by Meek, there went up such a shout as Champoeg never heard before and never will again."

Joseph L. Meek was born in Washington county, Virginia, in 1810. He was the son of a planter, and his mother was of a good Virginia family —one of the Walker's—and aunt to the wife of President James K. Polk. Unfortunately, Mrs. Meek died early, and the lad was left to his own devices, with nothing to do, and little to learn, except such outdoor sports as boys delight in. His companions for the most part were the children of his father's slaves. His father married a second time, but the boy did not take kindly to the stepmother, so when about 16 he went to Kentucky, where his father had relatives. Conditions there did not attract him, hence pushed on to St. Louis, arriving in the fall of 1828. In March, 1829, he joined Sublette's hunting party, went out on the plains and led the life of a hunter and trapper until 1840, when he selected a claim on the Tualatin Plains, a few miles west of Portland, where he spent the remainder of his life, his death occurring on June 20, 1875. In addition to being sheriff under the Provisional Government, Meek was the first United States Marshal of Oregon Territory, appointed by President Polk, and his commission was signed in August, 1848. On June 3, 1850, he officiated at the hanging of the Indians at Oregon City who had been convicted of being the murderers of Dr. Whitman, his wife and twelve others, at Wai-il-at-pu, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Nov. 29-30, 1847.

NAMES OF PERSONS WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT CHAMPOEG, MAY 2, 1843

Name	Place of Birth	Born	Church Preference	Arrived in Oregon
Armstrong, Pleasant M.	New York	1815	Presbyterian	1840
Babcock, Dr. I. L.	New York	....	Methodist	1840
Bailey, Dr. W. J.	Ireland	1805	Catholic	1835
Beers, Alanson	Connecticut	1800	Methodist	1837
Bridges, J. C.	....	....	Unknown	....
Burns, Hugh	....	....	Presbyterian	1842

Name	Place of Birth	Born	Church Preference	Arrived in Oregon
Campo, Charles	.....	....	Unknown	....
Cannon, William	Pennsylvania	1755	Unknown	1812
Clark, Rev. Harvey	Vermont	1807	Congregationalist .	1840
Crawford, Medorem	New York	1819	No choice	1842
Cook, Amos	Maine	1818	Methodist	1840
Davie, Allen J.	Alabama	1816	Baptist	1842
Doughty, William M.	North Carolina ...	1812	No choice	1841
Ebberts, George W	Kentucky	1810	Baptist	1833
Fletcher, Francis	England	1815	Episcopalian	1840
Gay, George	England	1810	Episcopalian	1835
Gale, Joseph	Dist. of Columbia..	1800	Episcopalian	1834
Gray, William H.	New York	1810	Presbyterian	1836
Griffin, Rev. John S.	Vermont	1807	Congregationalist.	1839
Hauxhurst, Webley	New York	1809	Methodist	1834
Hill, David	Connecticut	1809	Congregationalist.	1842
Howard, John	.....	....	Presbyterian	....
Holman, Joseph	England	1815	Methodist	1840
Hines, Rev. Gustavus	New York	1809	Methodist	1840
Hubbard, T. J.	Massachusetts	1806	Unknown	1834
Johnson, William	England	1784	Episcopalian	1835
Judson, Rev. L. H.	Connecticut	1802	Methodist	1840
Le Breton, Geo. W.	Massachusetts	1810	Catholic	1840
Leslie, Rev. David.	New Hampshire ..	1797	Methodist	1837
Lewis, Reuben	New York	1814	Presbyterian	1842
Lucier, Etienne	Canada	1783	Catholic	1812
Matthieu, Francois X.	Canada	1818	Catholic	1842
Meek, Joseph L.	Virginia	1810	Methodist	1829
McCarty, William	.....	....	Catholic	1834
McKay, Charles	At sea (Scotch)....	1808	Presbyterian	1841
Moore, Robert	Pennsylvania	1781	Presbyterian	1840
Morrison, John L.	Scotland	1793	Presbyterian	1842
Newell, Dr. Robert	Ohio	1804	Episcopalian	1840
O'Neil, James A.	New York	....	Methodist	1834
Parrish, Rev. J. L.	New York	1806	Methodist	1840
Pickernell, J: Edmunds	England	....	Episcopalian	....
Robb, James R.	Pennsylvania	1816	Methodist	1842
Russell, Osborne	Maine	1814	Baptist	1842
Shortess, Robert	Pennsylvania	1804	Methodist	1840
Smith, Alvin T.	Connecticut	1802	Congregationalist.	1840
Smith, Sidney	New York	1809	Unknown	1839
Smith, Solomon H.	New Hampshire ..	1809	Congregationalist.	1832
Tibbetts, Calvin	Massachusetts	....	Congregationalist.	1832
Weston, David	Indiana	1820	Unknown	1842
Wilkins, Caleb	Ohio	1810	Baptist	1835
Wilson, A. E.	Massachusetts	....	Unknown	1842
Willson, Dr. W. H.	New Hampshire ...	1805	Methodist	1837

STATE OR COUNTRIES REPRESENTED

Alabama 1	Kentucky 1	Ohio 2
Canada 2	Maine 2	Pennsylvania 4
Connecticut 4	Massachusetts 4	Vermont 2
District of Columbia.. 1	New Hampshire 3	Virginia 1
England 5	New York 10	Scotland 1
Indiana 1	North Carolina 1	Unspecified 6
Ireland 1		
		Total 52

Church preference: Baptist, 4; Catholics, 5; Congregationalists, 6; Episcopalians, 6; Methodists, 13; Presbyterians, 8; unknown, 10; total, 52.

FRENCH SETTLERS* WHO VOTED AGAINST THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT CHAMPOEG, MAY 2, 1843

Aubichon, Alexis.
Aubichon, Jen B.
Ausant, Louis.
Arquoit, Amable.
Bargeau, Cyfois.
Beleque, Pierre.
Biscornais, Pascal.
Boivers, Louis.
Bonenfant, Antoine.
Briscbois, Alexis.
Briscbois, Oliver.
Brunelle, Joseph.
Chalifoux, Andre.
Chamberlain, Adolph.
Cornoyer, Joseph.
Delard, Joseph.
Depot, Pierre.
Despart, Joseph.
Donpierre, David.
Dubois, Andre.
Ducharme, Jean B.
Felice, Antoine.
Forcier, Louis.
Gagnon, Luc.
Gauthier, Pierre.
Gervais, Joseph.
Gingras, Jean.
Gregoire, Etienne.
La Chapelle, Andre.
La Bonte, Louis.
Laderout, Xavier.
Laferty, Michel.
La Framboise, Michel.
Lalcoure, Jean B.
Lambert, Augustin.
La Prate, Alexis.
Longtain, Andre.
Lore, Moyse.
Matte, Joseph.
Maloin, Fabien.
Mongrain, David.
Papin, Pierre.
Pariseau, Pierre.
Remon, Augustin.
Roi, Thomas.
Rondeau, Charles.
Sanders, Andre.
Senecalle, Gideon.
Servant, Jaques.
Van Dalle, Louis B.

*All Catholics. After permanent organization, the majority of these men acted the part of good citizens by supporting the Provisional Government, and all became naturalized as soon as possible after the United States extended its jurisdiction over the "Oregon Country," March 3, 1849.

[One of those who favored the organization of government at that meeting lingered on long after the others had died. Mr. Himes compiled a brief biography of him to publish with the programme of the Oregon Pioneer Association as follows:]

Francis Xavier Matthieu was born in Montreal, Canada, April 2, 1818. His ancestors came from France and settled in Canada in an early day. All the schooling he had was acquired before the age of 12, his struggles for life beginning then. He took part in the Canadian rebellion against England in 1837-8, and as a result left that country, going to Albany, N. Y., where he worked as a carpenter for a time. He was at Chicago in 1839, and then at St. Louis, where he become a clerk of the American Fur Company, and spent three years on the Platte and its tributaries. He came to Marion County, Oregon, in 1842, and was married to Miss Rose Osent on April 15, 1844, by whom he become the father of fifteen children, as follows: Mrs. Philomene Geer, Charles, Mrs. Clarissa Ouimette, Mrs. Rose L. Bergevin, Priscilla, Mrs. Arsino Burton, Edward F., Henry C., Stephen A., John J., Ernest, Lester F., Robert W., Mrs. Mary L. Howard, and Mrs. Violet Randall. Those surviving their father at this date (June 18, 1914) are as follows: Mrs. Geer, Mrs. Burton, John, Lester, Stephen and Ernest. Mrs. Matthieu was a native of British Columbia, born in 1828, and died on February 12, 1901. In 1846 Mr. Matthieu settled on the farm where he died on February 4, 1914. He founded Butteville in 1851 and kept store there

for more than twenty years. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1874 and 1878. In 1873 he was elected the first President of the Oregon Pioneer Association, and he never missed a meeting. He was made a Mason in 1855 and an Elk in 1912.

GEORGE H. HIMES.

SURVIVOR OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER WARS

My advanced age and physical decadence render it very difficult for me, of late, to evolve and hold in intellectual paragraphic form, thoughts that spring up in my mind, and which I desire to commit to manuscript page for the benefit of valued friends, who beseech me to favor them with a line bearing upon my protracted years and diversified life. Often dear ones plead with me to give them, for publication, items from the pages of my "Memoirs" that are to be published after I shall have "shuffled off life's mortal coil," of what I witnessed and in which I bore an active part, in the Mexican war of 1846 and 1848; also of what I passed through in the Indian war of Oregon of 1853, known as the "Rogue River Indian War"—and later of the Indian war of Oregon and Washington, of 1855 and 1856, and lastly, the bloody four years conflict known to those of us who served at the front throughout said conflict, as "The Slaveholders Rebellion." I would be glad to furnish the information sought were my vitality and mentality equal to the task; but I am too old and feeble now to essay such an undertaking, although the labor would be pleasing to me.

There are times when I am "all alone" and fall into a reminiscent mood, my mind goes back to the days spent upon the plains and engaged in the beneficent labor of "making good Indians" of those who were upon the warpath. Deprived of food and forced to subsist, for the time being, upon mule meat stuffed with truffles, and washed down with rare old Johannesberger, drank from a buffalo wallow filled with tadpoles and pollywogs is a salient incident in my life on the "American Desert" of the long ago. But those were not hard times; indeed, I would rejoice to hear again the sharp crack of the old "Hawkins" rifle, or listen to the singing of the Indian "arrer" in the air, to be as young and virile as I was in those stirring days of my young and sturdy manhood. But the times have changed and we have changed with them. There are no more Rocky Mountains, no more buffalo, no more Indians, and the "Great American desert" has disappeared. Come to think of it, did they ever exist or were they, in fact, only an iridescent dream?

Your great commonwealth, bearing the honored name of Washington, since March 2nd, 1853, when it was erected into a territory, had a population, all told and in round numbers, of 3,965 inhabitants. Since then a marvelous change in population, character of the people who have settled therein since the admission of the Territory into the American Union as a sovereign State, have taken place. The causes thereof are not far to

seek, but for prudential and personal reasons I shall decline to discuss them, stating en passant that I resided in Washington Territory from 1853 to 1861, and returned after the close of the civil war to Puget Sound and, during the year 1869 I resided in Olympia. My previous residence in the Territory was (barring the period when I was engaged in the Indian war of 1855 and 1856, and as a special Indian agent in 1858, in St. Marys Valley, now Idaho), upon Whidbey Island. Puget Sound, then regarded as the garden and granery of Washington Territory.

Upon visiting Whidbey Island in the early part of the year 1853, I found the following named pioneers, who were occupying Donation Homesteads: In the vicinity of Coupeville, the present County Seat—situate upon Penn's Cove; and a few of the Donation Claims faced the waters of Puget Sound—and these claims were owned and cultivated by the Crockett family—father and mother, a venerable couple, and their sons, John, Samuel, Charles, Hugh and Walter. John and Samuel occupied their respective homesteads, with their wives and children. Then there were the Hill brothers, Nathaniel D., Robert C., and Humphrey Hill, and associated with them there was William B. Engle. Lying in juxtaposition to the Hill lands were the broad acres (640) of Col. Isaac N. Ebey, the then Collector of Customs at Port Townsend. Then a full section of land, owned and occupied by the Alexander family, from Springfield, Illinois, the home of the Immortal Abraham Lincoln, and with whom the Alexanders were close neighbors and intimate friends. Then hard by there resided Chas. H. Ivins and his beautiful wife, from Indiana, Captain Thomas P. Coupe, a sea captain, and his wife and family. Next to them there were the brothers-in-law—Joseph H. Smith, John Kinneth, and Captain Robertson—all three of whom had their families with them; then came Captain P. B. Barstow and his brother-in-law, Samuel Libbey; then Dr. Richard H. Lansdale of the then County Seat Coveland, which Dr. Lansdale owned as a part of his 320 acres Donation Claim, lying near to the head of Penn's Cove. Then came the claims of Daniel Show, an aged and peculiarly fanciful ancient pioneer, and his nephew, Jacob Heinbaugh; then there were Isaac N. Power and family, Thomas Hastie and family, Richard B. Holbrook, Samuel D. Howe, George W. L. Allen, and Jacob Smith and family. Not far remote, and facing the waters of Penn's Cove, there were several donation claims held by one Bolte; another by one Basil, afterwards owned by Captain Eli Hathaway; then John Condra and Major John G. Sewall.

Upon Oak Harbor there were the following donation settlers: C. M. Ford, Ulrich Freund, Martin Taftezon, a man named Summers, Samuel Walker and family, Samuel and Thomas Maylor, Captain Edward Barrington, Charles C. Phillips. On Church Prairie there were two

bachelors, Thomas Hutchins and Alfred M. Miller; then on Crescent Harbor there were William Wallace and family on a donation claim of 640 acres all open prairie land, and two nephews, Milton L., and James M. Mounts, and there adjoining the Wallace land was a Mr. James Buzby and family. I should have also mentioned a widow lady and her family who owned a donation claim adjoining that of Isaac N. Power, a Mrs. Maddox.

There were at that time the following named parties who were engaged in cutting and supplying the San Francisco, California, Harbor Extension Corporation with piles and hewn cross timbers, viz., Lawrence Grennan & Co., including a number of laborers. There were later the Terrys, Captain Ford, Captain Swift; at Skagit Head, Robert S. Bailey, two brothers, Samuel and Benjamin Welcher.

JUNIUS THOMAS TURNER.

THE COLUMBIA RIVER

[In May people of the three States—Idaho, Oregon and Washington—participated in an Open River celebration. Governor Ernest Lister of the State of Washington gave himself unreservedly to the entire series of ceremonies. Officers of the other States were also enthusiastic at one city after another along the river. The obstruction in the Columbia at Celilo had been overcome and the desired open river had been brought that much nearer to realization. Many notable addresses were delivered. One of them has been sent to this Quarterly in the Walla Walla publication called "Up-to-the-Times Magazine." It was by Miles C. Moore, last Territorial Governor of Washington. Governor Moore spoke at the banquet in Pasco, his toast being "The Columbia River, Rich in History, in Romance, and Legend." The address is reproduced in the Quarterly as a compliment to the genial speaker and also as a pleasing memorial of the historic event there celebrated.—Editor.]

It gives me great pleasure to be here this evening, and I wish to make grateful acknowledgment to the good people of Pasco for the invitation that permits me to be present on this delightful occasion. It is an occasion for retrospect and reminiscence, tonight and for a few days we will live in history. We are celebrating the fulfillment of a dream of the long ago. The early settlers, realizing the importance of an open river, began very early to petition Congress to build canals at the Cascades and at Celilo, and to remove obstructions from this great artery of internal commerce. Our beneficent government moves slowly, and they waited through the weary years for the consummation so devoutly wished. Just when the first petitions were sent to Washington, I am unable to say, but presumably it was when wheat shipments began to assume proportion in the late sixties.

In this connection, I recall that Gereral Sherman, in 1877, visited Walla Walla after long, tiresome horse back ride up the Yellow Stone and through the mountains, visiting and establishing army posts. He was tired and wanted to rest a day or two before proceedings on his journey. I enjoyed the distinction of being mayor at that time and the duty of entertaining this distinguished warrior fell to me. He asked to be driven out to the orchards and vineyards, which he seemed to very much enjoy.

I told him our citizens wanted to show him some attention and ex-

plained that the band would serenade him in the evening and would expect a speech.

He asked me what he should talk about, and I replied—the opening of the Columbia River, "that is what our people are most interested in."

He spoke from the balcony of the old Stine house, and told the assembled audience if they wanted the river opened they must raise grain and create tonnage—and told the young men and women they should get married and raise families and populate the country. That was thirty-eight years ago, and the wheat has been grown, the country populated and the open river dream is at last an accomplished fact.

My toast, I am reminded, is the Columbia river: "Rich in history, in romance and legend."

The rivers of America are interwoven with American history: The history of the Columbia and its tributaries is the history of Oregon. The beginnings of settlement; the first coming of the white man was along its shores. Thrilling scenes of romance, tragedies were enacted, and unspeakable privations were endured. Many of these are celebratd in song and story. Poets have caught the glamour of romance that hangs around Old Oregon and have woven it into imperishable poetry. One of these, Joaquin Miller, in the early sixties rode pony express from Dalles to Canyon City, and from Walla Walla to Florence and Orofino during the gold excitement in 1861. He became known as the poet of the Sierras, but he caught his first inspiration from the mountains of Oregon and wrote verses in that early day.

Sam Simpson was also an Oregonian. His poem, The Willamette, has been pronounced by many persons of literary taste and discrimination to be one of the most beautiful, passionate strains of American song. I quote the first and last verses:

From the Cascade's frozen gorges
Leaping like a child at play,
Widening, winding through the valley,
Bright Willamette glides away.

Onward ever
Lovely river
Softly calling to the sea.
Time that mars us
Maims and scars us
Leave no track
Or trench on thee.

On the roaring wastes of ocean
Soon thy scattered waves shall toss,
Mid the surges' rhythmic thunder
Shall thy silver tongue be lost.
Oh, thy glimmering rush of gladness
Mocks this turbid life of mine,
Racing to the wild forever
Down the sloping paths of time.

He also wrote "The Old Ship's Requiem," referring to the steamer Beaver, which was launched in England in 1833—and was the first steamer to plow the waters of the Pacific Ocean. The following stanzas are taken from it:

"How the world has changed
Since she kissed the tide
Of the storied Thames in the Georgian reign,
And was pledged with wine as the bonny bride
Of the west isles' gemmed barbaric main,
With dauntless form
That could breast the storm
As she wove the magic commercial chain.

"And the world to which as a pioneer
She first came trailing her plume of smoke,
Is beyond the dreams of the clearest seer
That ever in lofty symbols spoke
In the arts of peace
In all life's increase
And in all that the gold browed stross invoke."

Looking backward through the mist of years to that far time when the poet Bryant wrote "Thanatopsis" in trying to locate the most lonely inaccessible region on the globe. He wrote as follows:

"Take the wings of morning
And the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon,
And hears no sound save its own dashing."

If he had lived in this progressive age, he would have suggested an aeroplane or a dirigible balloon as a more dependable means of transportation; but what I wish to say is that "continuous woods" can no

longer be found in Oregon; the paddle wheels of the steamboat and the continuous rumble of car wheels on either side of the great river disturb the silence of the primeval solitude of that early day. We live in a strange, new age. The world has grown marvelously. "In the arts of peace and all life's increase." The wild Indian is gone; wheat fields extend over all the wide domain and the bunch grass that grew in wild luxuriance over all the hills and valleys of the Inland Empire is also gone. Barbed wire fences obstruct the old Indian trails, and the wild cavalcades, gay with paint and feathers, are seen no more. The spotted, picturesque cayuse, that once cropped the bunch grass from high basaltic cliffs has faded from the landscape.

The steamboat has supplanted the canoe,
The stage coach the ox wagon;
The railway the stage coach;
The telegraph the pony express;
The auto the horse and buggy.

The building of a nation; the laying of the foundations of a state, are always subjects of deepest interest.

To adequately portray Oregon history in the brief time allotted would require a swiftly moving panorama, or, better still, a moving picture film.

The first inspiring scene would show the ship Columbia sailing into the mouth of the Columbia on that fine May morning in 1792, when that good American, Captain Gray, claimed for his country all that vast region drained by the Columbia and its tributaries. Thirteen years later it would show the Lewis and Clark party floating down the Snake and the Columbia on their way to the coast; a little later the Astors expedition seeking to establish trade relations with the Indians at Astoria. All these were Americans, British fur traders also appearing near the head water of the Columbia, and later we see David Thompson drifting down the great river to its mouth. Other fur traders came and estabtlished posts at various points—at Fort Walla Walla, at the mouth of the Walla Walla River, in 1818—and at Vancouver in 1824. Then the missionaries came, Jason Lee to the Willamette Valley and the great-hearted Whitman and his noble wife to establish his mission at Wailatpu, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla. His eleven years of service and privation, his self-sacrificing devotion to the Indians, his famous midwinter ride to Washington, and the final surrender of his life, "The last full measure of his devotion," constitute the most heroic chapter in Western history.

About this time the film would show the steamer Beaver, the first

to plow the waters of the Pacific, and then the long trains of canvas-covered emigrant wagons creeping in slow procession across the great plains over intermiable stretches of sage brush on the way to Oregon—

"This was the first faint wash of the coming wave
That was yet to roll a human sea."

Then the organization of Oregon as a territory—the Whitman massacre, the discovery of gold in California in 1849, the creation of Washington as a separate territory in 1853; the appearance of Washington's great first Governor, Isaac I. Stevens, at the village of Olympia on a cold November day, 1853, taking up the reins of territorial government, looking for the first time on the blue waters of Budd's Inlet, an arm of the inland sea, on whose shores cities were to arise, and on whose tranquil waters were to float the navies of the world; his treaty with 5,000 Indians at Walla Walla in 1855; the Indian wars that followed; the defeat of Colonel Steptoe; the successful expedition of Colonel Wright opening the country to settlement in 1858; the discovery of gold in Northern Idaho; the discovery of the marvelous fertility of the soil in the east of the mountains country; steamboats appearing on the Columbia above Celilo; construction of Dr. Baker's railroad, the first in Washington, from Walla Walla to the Columbia River; the settlement of the Palouse and Spokane countries; the extension of wheat fields over the hills and valleys, where once the bunch grass grew in wild luxuriance; the discovery of the Coeur d'Alene mines; the growth of Spokane to a great city. All this is the work of fifty years in the valley of the great Columbia and a part of its history.

The population of Washington at the time of its creation as a separate territory in 1853 was 3,965. When admitted to statehood thirty-six years later, in 1889, it had grown to 239,554, in 1910 to 1,141,990, and now is 1,400,000.

No American state has shown such rapid growth. No other state has so many attractions in combination.

"No other clime has skies so fair
Or stream so broad and clear."

Looking backward through the mist of years and noting the first faint beginnings of settlement, the fact stands prominently forth that the Hudson's Bay Company were quite early in evidence on the upper stretches of the Columbia. In studying early history, however, a distinction should be clearly drawn between American explorers, American missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company and British fur traders. The former were actuated by altruistic motives; they were paving the way for a future civil-

ization, while the latter were interested solely in the fur trade and the profits to be derived therefrom. They were not in sympathy with Americans, nor American institutions; they discouraged and obstructed settlement, and clung tenaciously to the Columbia River as a boundary line.

During the two hundred and forty years of their dominion, in all that vast region granted to Prince Rupert, they built no cities, dug no canals, developed no water power, built no railroads or telegraph lines, farmed no considerable tracts of land, discouraged everywhere individual effort and initiative. In short, they were conservationists of the strictest sect. Their officers or factors were sometimes men of character and fine type, but, aside from Dr. John McLoughlin, there is no reason for Americans to revere their memory.

In conclusion, let us felicitate ourselves on the fact that "our lines have fallen in pleasant places." It is a privilege to live in this favored land, amid these magnificent surroundings, under the shadows of these mountains, these blessed mountains, "they proclaim the everlasting creed of liberty."

"O sacred forms, how proud you are,
How high you lift your heads unto the sky,
Ye guards of liberty.
I am with you once again;
I hold my hands to you
To show they still are free."

MILES C. MOORE.

TO THE PIONEERS OF WASHINGTON*

Dear Friends:

One year ago today, when you in the goodness of your hearts named me your president, my cup of joy was full and I promised you on this platform that if my life should be spared I would endeavor to give you an address worthy of your great organization. I was then in very feeble health and realized that while man proposes, God disposes. My life has been mercifully spared and yet the condition of my health has not been such that I could carry out my promise to you, either as to preparing the address or presiding over your deliberations. But believe me my heart is right here. In the hope that my health would mend, I did not feel like declining the great honor you had bestowed. Sixty years have passed over my head in Oregon and Washington, principally in the latter state, and I knew in the very nature of things there were not many more years to serve should the opportunity present itself.

I am from a long line of pioneers, which perhaps in a great measure gives me this feeling of attachment to your organization. My forebears on my father's side were pioneers in the wilds of northern New York and and on my mother's side in the wilds of Illinois. My father's brother, Capt. Medorem Crawford, came out to Oregon with Dr. Elijah White in 1842 and, after making a number of trips east in the interest of the state and for the government, remained there as one of the state's greatest farmers until his death a few years ago. He served as president of the Oregon Pioneer Association and Mr. George H. Himes told me two years ago that it was through my uncle's efforts and persuasion that he gave up all other lines of work to devote his life exclusively to building historical foundation for the Oregon Pioneer Society.

On my mother's side, my great-grandfather, Robert Moore, crossed the plains to the Oregon country in 1840, wintering at Fort Hall and coming on in the following spring. Both he and Medorem Crawford were elected members of the provisional legislature of 1843, which set the wheels of government in motion in the Oregon country in that early day.

My father and mother crossed the plains in 1847, my mother a girl of ten and my father a lad of twenty. In due course of time they met and were married and have spent their lives in Oregon and Washington. I am proud to say that notwithstanding the hardships and privations of pioneer life in the West, they are both reasonably well and are

*Samuel L. Crawford, President of the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington, too ill to attend the reunion, sent this message which was read for him on June 2, 1915.

both members of the Washington Pioneer Association. Father is eighty-eight years old and seldom misses a meeting.

I was born near Oregon City in 1855, moving to the Walla Walla country when six years old. Later came back to Oregon City and Salem, where I attended school, following my parents to the Sound in 1869, settling at Olympia and learning the printer's trade in the same office where Mr. George H. Himes had graduated a few years before. In 1876 I came to Seattle and started in with the Intelligencer and its successor the Post-Intelligencer, staying with the ship until I embarked in the real estate business with Mr. Charles T. Conover twenty-seven years ago. Since that time my life has been an open book.

As the time of this meeting approached, I worried greatly because of being unprepared and unable to get ready, but one day my old friend Frank H. Winslow called and we talked it all over and decided to call up my young friend Prof. Edmond S. Meany, who has carried the trials and troubles of the University of Washington these many years, and dump it all on him. He came in reply to my call, heard my tale of woe,—his only reply was "Yes, Sam, we'll help you out," and a great stone was rolled away from my heart and mind. Lucky is he who has a friend with such a heart and mind and a great soul coupled with the ability to say off-hand, "Yes, Sam, we'll help you out!"

Very truly yours,

S. L. CRAWFORD.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833

INTRODUCTION

Fort Nisqually was the first permanent settlement of white men on Puget Sound. Fort Vancouver had been headquarters since 1825 and Fort Langley was founded near the mouth of the Fraser river in 1827. Fort Nisqually was, therefore, a station which served to link these two together. While the primary object of the Hudson's Bay Company was to collect furs, nevertheless, the great needs of their own trappers, and the needs of Russian America (Alaska), and the Hawaiian Islands and other places for foodstuffs, caused that Company to seriously think of entering into an agricultural form of enterprise. But certain of the directors were not in favor of having the Company branch out into other lines, so a subsidiary company, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, was formed in 1838 for the purpose of taking advantage of the agricultural opportunities of the Pacific. This company was financed and officered by members of the Hudson's Bay Company. From that time Fort Nisqually became more an agricultural enterprise than a fur-trading post.

The Treaty of 1846, by which the United States received the sovereignty of the country to the south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, promised the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company that their possessions in that section would be respected. The antagonism of incoming settlers who coveted the fine lands aggravated the situation. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, as Superintendent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, remained in charge until 1859, when he removed to Victoria, and Edward Huggins, a clerk, was left as custodian at Nisqually. The American Civil War delayed a settlement, although Secretary of State Seward and Lord Lyons completed an arbitration treaty in 1863. Under the terms of that treaty a decision was reached in 1869 by which the United States paid the Hudson's Bay Company $450,000 and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company $200,000 for their possessory rights below the forty-ninth parallel. The chattels of the companies were sold, and Mr. Huggins, becoming an American citizen, took over the site at Nisqually as his homestead which he sold to the Du Pont Powder Company about ten years ago.

A daily record of occurrences was kept during all these years, but at the time of the ajudication of the companies' claims certain portions were taken to Victoria to be used as legal evidence. Such records as

have remained are now being reproduced in the Quarterly, and will throw much light upon the early history of this section of the country. Not alone will historians be interested. The journals contain much illuminating material for the naturalist, agriculturist, and meterologist.

It is a matter of regret that the journals in many places are badly damaged, which makes their reconstruction difficult and sometimes impossible. Those portions which have so suffered are enclosed in brackets, and interpolations, wherever possible, are included, also in brackets. In this way the original journals, now in my possession, will be reproduced as faithfully as can be done from their present condition.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

[May 30th, 1833—Interpolation by Edward Huggins.]

[Fort Nisqually, Puget Sound, North West Coast of America. In 1833, jointly claimed by Great Britain and the United States. In 1846, ceded to the United States by joint treaty of 1846.—Interpolation by Edward Huggins.]

May—

[1833—Interpolation by Huggins.]

30th—Thursday—Arrived here this afternoon from the Columbia with 4 men—4 oxen—& 4 horses, after a journey of 14 [days] expecting to have found the Schooner Vancouver l[ying here]. She sailed the afternoon of the same day we start[ed with] trading—Goods—provisions —potatoes—Seed—[&c bound] for Nusqualley[1] Bay Where we now have [determined] should everything come up to expectation, [to locate our] establishment. While on a trading [expedition down] Sound last Spring with 8 or 9 men, I app[lied about] 12 days of our time to the erecting of a sto[re-house 15 feet] by 20 & left & Wm. Ouvrie[2] & two other ha[nds under him in] charge of a few Blankets—a couple kegs po[tatoes &c] small garden seeds when I returned to the Col[umbia on the] 20th of April—This is all the sembelance of [settlement] there is at this moment; but little as it is [it posssesses an] advantage over all the other settlements we have [made] on the Coast.—Mr. Yale[3]—in consequence of a note to that effect sent him from home by Indians six weeks ago, forwarded the other day 4 men out of the 13 left with him at Fort

1 Nisqually, a river and a bay which takes the name of the Nisqually, a Salish tribe of Indians which resided chiefly on the Nisqually river.

2 William Ouvrie, a servant.

3 James Munax Yale had seen service in New Caledonia, and had accompanied Governor Simpson down the Fraser river to Fort Langley at the time of its establishment. He had been placed in charge of Fort Langley in October, 1829, by Archibald McDonald. Mr. Yale is best remembered in connection with his romance with the dusky daughter of a Haitlin Indian chief. Shortly after his arrival at Fort Langley he bought their maiden as a wife, but she proved in his eyes to be unchaste, having a husband then living. He promptly divorced her but she would not be divorced and after many tribulations won over her lord.

Langley[4]—middle of February—which now makes our total number at Nusqualley House 11 hands.—I have also this moment with me Doctor William Tolmie[5], a young Gentleman lately arrived from England as Surgeon for the Company & is bound for the Northern Estate in the Vancouver, but did me the pleasure of his Company across land with us this far.

31st Friday—No account of Capt. Ryan & the Vancouver—a very unlucky Circumstance—no Goods for the Traders—no provisions for the people, & above all the Season is getting late for the Seed.—Our [page

[4] Fort Langley. The union of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, under the title of the latter, was effected in 1821, at which time the principal post in this section of the country was Fort George (Astoria). For the purpose of expanding the interests of the Company Governor George Simpson made a visit to Fort George in the fall of 1824. He organized the District of the Columbia, placing Dr. John McLaughlin in charge as Chief Factor, perfected the arrangements for the transfer of affairs from Fort George to the newly selected site, Fort Vancouver, and ordered an expedition to be sent northward from Fort George to explore the Fraser river for the purpose of selecting the site for a new post and to connect the Puget Sound waters with the Caledonia posts on the Thompson river. The proposed expedition left Fort George Thursday, November 18, 1824, under the command of James McMillan. It made its way by canoe and portage from the Columbia river to Grays Harbor via Baker's Bay and Willapa Harbor; thence up the Chehalis river to the Black river, up that stream to its source, Black Lake, then by portage to Eld Inlet, and finally by Puget Sound to the Fraser river. After a brief examination of the river the party returned, but when reaching the Chehalis river divided into two groups, one going by the route whence it had come, the other making overland to the Cowlitz river and down that stream to the Columbia. Fort Vancouver was built during the years 1824-25 and Fort George was abandoned. On the 27th of June, 1827, the same commander, James McMillan, assisted by the Cadboro, set out on a second expedition for the purpose of founding a new fort on the Fraser river. The overland party made its way up the Cowlitz river, then by portage to Puget Sound, and thence to Port Orchard, where by agreement it was to meet the Cadboro which had come around by sea. The site for the fort was selected on the 29th of June, 1827, on the left bank of the river, some 30 miles from the Gulf of Georgia. On October 10, 1827, Governor Simpson arrived at the site, having come down the Fraser river. McMillan, the commander of the expedition and of the new post, accompanied the Governor to Fort Vancouver, and appointed Archibald McDonald in his stead. See Journal of John Work for November and December, 1824, edited by T. C. Elliott (In Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1912); also, H. H. Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, Vol. II., Ch. 21.

[5] William Fraser Tolmie was born in Iverness, Scotland, and educated as a naturalist which included medicine. Botany was his special study. Under the patronage of Sir William Hooker, the famous naturalist, he secured, in 1832, an appointment with the Hudson's Bay Company and in company with another appointee, a Mr. Gairdner, also a naturalist, set sail from London, aboard the Ganymede, and arrived off Cape Disappointment April 30, 1833. Here he received orders from Dr. McLaughlin to repair to Milbank Sound to assist in the founding of Fort McLaughlin. The accident to Pierre Charles, related in this journal, interferred with this plan, and it was not until November that he was able to report there. In 1834 he was surgeon with an expedition under Ogden on the Stikeen river, then served at Fort Simpson; finally going to Milbank Sound where he remained until February, 1836, when he took up his abode as surgeon and trader at Fort Vancouver, remaining until 1840, when he was granted a year's leave of absence. The year 1841 he seems to have spent in organizing agricultural establishments in the Willamette valley. In 1841 he returned to England where he remained until 1843, attending to the agricultural interests of the company. During these years he had acquired a knowledge of Spanish, having in mind an appointment to the post at Yerba Buena, but upon his return was given the superintendency of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually, where he remained until 1859, moving to Victoria, but still managing affairs for both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually.

See Journal of William Fraser Tolmie (in Washington Historical Quarterly, July 1912) for an account of his stay at Fort Vancouver previous to his trip to Nisqually.

2—Interpolation by Huggins] people have been put upon various little jobs about the place—the principal one is the building of a small house on the edge of the plain above the high bank which lines the whole of these shores, & must be at least half a mile from the Trading house & Naval depot below—a farm house on the site I speak of is indispensable on account of the live Stock and many other Considerations—

June—

[1st Satur]day—Weather very clear & dry for the last 15 days [&] from the little wind we have had on shore that [the vessel] has met with little more along the Coast— The [grass] here appears exceedingly scorched at present

[Sunday, June 2nd, 1833—Interpolation by Huggins.]

2nd Sunday—In the way of living, the resources of the country [are very] scanty in this part of it—the animal hunters [are] both lazy & selfish however we much encourage [them] with an occasional load of Ammunition—The [fishery] they annually work upon with the line and hook in the Bay & at a Barrier they have a short distance up the River, is not yet in any quantity arrived—we have had however one good fish from them this morning.—

[June—Interpolation by Huggins.]

3d Monday—Indians come about to see us, but that is all; no kind of trade going on—

[June—Interpolation by Huggins.]

4th Tuesday—No Ship Every thing else going on as quietly & smoothly as could be wished—Mr. Tolmie and myself took a ride round the vicinity of the place for the space of 5 or 6 miles—the country looks pleasing enough to the eye, but the plains as I formerly pronounced them are very dry & Steril & especially so at this Season of the year—

[June—Interpolation by Huggins.]

5th Wednesday—Self and friend again to-day set out [June, 1833, page 3—Interpolation by Huggins] in a small canoe with a couple of hands to examine the extensive flats & low ground on both sides the mouth of the Nusqualley river expecting to hear something of Ryan by the time we returned from rumours brought us last night that Big Guns were heard not far off, but are disappointed; & now that the House above is ready for the covering & the provision entirely di[minished I] propose setting out in the morning with a canoe [&] 6 men to see if any tidings can be got of [the ship] between this & point Patridge[6]—The Coo[per James] Rindale[7], who in a bad state of health]arrived from[

[6] Point Partridge, so named by Vancouver, June 6, 1792, in honor of the Partridge family, into which his brother John Vancouver, had married.

[7] James Rindale, evidently a servant, although a man of learning, as he could write the note concerning Pierre Charles's accident.

Fort Langley the other day, takes charge [of inside] things here, & P. Charles[8] besides trying to [kill game] for themselves, will conduct the work going [out with] the rest of the men.

6th Thursday—Left the house in forenoon accompanied [by Dr.] Tolmie and to point Orchard without obtaining any [word] of our absent friends.

7th Friday—After strolling round and over the Orchard[9] [a] part of the morning we pushed on towards Hood's Canal against a smart breese which must be favorable for the Vessel if within the Straights.

8th Saturday—Having understood last night that Chihalucum[10] the Soquamus Chief was in this vicinity after returning [to]day from a visit to Port Townsend for news about the expected Vessel, we after Breakfast bent our course up the Canal for a Short distance & picked him up—Says there was no appearance of her within the Sts. yesterday morning when he left protection Island[11]—Encamped [on the] west shore opposite Whidby's Island & now feed our people on Dog's flesh which they are not at all sorry for having in lieu of grain & [pease] The natives take a few salmon here.

8 Pierre Charles. A well known employe of the Hudson's Bay Company. Although only a servant he was considered a very valuable man for he could turn his hand at anything. His greatest role was that of hunter and guide. In the McMillan expedition (already quoted) he kept the party supplied with game. In 1841 Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, visited Nisqually, and secured Pierre Charles, then living on the Cowlitz, retired, to guide the Johnson party over the Cascade Mountains.

9 Orchard, meaning, of course, Port Orchard, which was named by Vancouver, May 23, 1792, in honor of H. M. Orchard, clerk on the Discovery. Point Orchard is not a Vancouver name, but without doubt takes its name from the port. It is here applied for the first time, and is located on the mainland a mile or so to the southwest of the southern extremity of Bainbridge Island. Hood Canal was also named by Vancouver on Sunday, May 13, 1792, in honor of Lord Hood. Mount Hood was a further honor for him.

10 Chihalucum. This is the first historical record known of the familiar chief or headsman, Steilacoom. The term Chilacoom first appears in the Journal of John Work for November and December, 1824 (Reproduced in the Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1912. Edited by T. C. Elliott). The entry for Friday, December 24, reads: " * * * Embarked a little after 4 o'clock in the morning and encamped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at Sinoughtons, our guides' village which is called Chilacoom." The Steilacoomamish were a band of Salish which dwelt on Steilacoom creek. They are usually considered as members of the Nisqually tribe.

The early settlers about Steilacoom were of the impression that Steilacoom creek derived its named from a chief Steilacoom who presided over the Steilacoomamish, a band of Salish closely related to the Nisqually. Dr. Tolmie, the narrator of this journal, places Chihalucum at the head of the Soquamis (Soquamish or Suquamish, a Salish tribe which inhabited the west shore of Puget Sound from Appletree cove to Gig harbor). When the first settlers came to this region Chief Seattle, after whom the city of Seattle was named, was chief of both the Suquamish and the Duwamish.

11 Protection Island is at the entrance to Port Discovery. It was named by Vancouver in May, 1792, because it was so situated as to afford protection to the port from both winds and a possible enemy. Port Townsend was also named by Vancouver about this same time in honor of the Marquis of Townshend, as was Whidbey Island in honor of Joseph Whidbey of Vancouver's party.

[Page 4, June, 1833—Interpolation by Huggins.]

9th Sunday—Rose Camp about the usual time & made for Point Partridge—we soon had the satisfaction to learn beyond doubt that the Schooner was close bye & another hour's paddling brought us in full view of her standing in a few miles ahead of us—Captain Ryan says they had nothing but calms ever since they crossed the Columbia Bar—The Indians about the Sts. came out to him with a good many skins in their usual way to trade; but found his Three Beaver Tariff too high & would not close a bargain—With [aid of a] light breeze and the help of the afternoon flood [came] to point Ryan[12]—the extreme end of this same Ryan's [point] to Puget Sound with the Original Schooner Vancouver [13] [ ] years ago—A good many Indians about of course.

[10th Monday]—Weighed anchor early—breeze hardly per [ceptible]; still we finely glided along thro the narrow [part] of the Sound & before the flood tide was done had [the] good fortune to bring our ship to anchor at 11 o'clock [at nig]ht within a mile of the house—This good luck however was not without a reverse elsewhere—intimation of which was conveyed to us about 8 o'clock by the following note from James Rindale "As Pierre Charles came down from the plain today to work at the store, he unfortunately cut his foot very much with the axe, & is fainting—I am afraid his life is in danger—he wishes me to send for the doctor as soon as possible as we cannot & know not what to do for him" The Dr. with our six men was instantly into the canoe & I am in hopes his prompt attendance and experience will be the means of saving the poor man's life.— I understand that no latter than Saturday he killed us Three very fine Elk and a Ch—no small service when people are in want & when there are but few others about you that can do it; I am extremely sorry for his case, as the Indians who came down with the note say that it is a dreadful cut

[June, 1833.—page 5—Interpolation by Huggins.]

11th Tuesday—At an early hour the anchor was up, and all hands on shore to tow the Vessel up along a very fine gravelly beach—In half an hour's time she was up, and snugly laid within a few paces of the Store door—No time was lost in removing the Boards so as to get at the

12 Point Ryan. This is evidently Point Defiance, near the present city of Tacoma, and a very familiar landmark to all who pass from Admiralty Inlet to Puget Sound proper. It commands the northern entrance to the Narrows and received its present name, Point Defiance, from Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1841, who thought that the point, if fortified, could bid defiance to all the navies of the world.

13 The manuscript at this place is badly damaged, which is unfortunate, as the writer is about to throw considerable light upon a previous expedition to the Sound. There were at least two ships by the name of Vancouver. A schooner of 150 tons burden was built at Fort Vancouver and wrecked in the spring of 1834 in the Charlotte Islands by Captain Duncan, who ran her aground. A bark, Vancouver, was lost on the Columbia bar in 1848.

potatoes s[eed, etc.] I am sorry to say that that part of the Cargoe pres[ented] a discouraging appearance: with the exception of th[at part] near the surface for a Short distance & a few [among the] stores below all are literally a heap of mi[ ] [I] picked out the best to perhaps something [ ] the rest of course threw overboard.—

Pierre Ch[arles' wound] is a very serious one—the Axe, its full length, [cut through the] upper part of the left foot from the instep to [the toes] and nearly half of the edge passed thro the [middle part] This being a cut of no ordinary description I [am sure this] will be the means of obliging me to interfere with [Dr.] McLaughlins instructions and intentions respecting th[e plans] of Dr. Tolmie for the present & especially as [Dr. Tolmie] himself conceives the case a very critical one—he had much difficulty this morning in checking the hemorhag[e] when he examined the wound.—

12th Wednesday—Our store this evening is covered—all the Goods landed & under lock & key—the potatoes are cutting and some of them in the ground, and better still a good few Beaver on the beach ready to enter the trading shop.

[June, 1833—Interpolation by Huggins.]

13th Thursday—The ploughman with his Oxen fairly at work on the potatoes at an early hour this morning—they are simply ploughed in under the green sod in a chosen piece of ground, & I have no doubt done so at an earlier season over good seed—the work [would] give satisfaction—After Breakfast commenced trade upon nearly the usual Tariff, giving our Customers however to understand that the Blanket ought to cost them TWO Be[aver] & that it will absolutely do so in a couple of months—They [page 6—June, 1833—Interpolation by Huggins] will therefore have no excuse when they come in again, for saying that they, as Traders among the Beaver killers paid a Blkt for each skin themselves —We have got about 90 skins from them, principally for Woollens. Guns they don't bid high for & I am as well pleased—for Traps they apply, but will not come up to the Three Skins, consequently they go without The few articles of clothing brought for them are not exposed to view at all, as every one now is a Chief & expects to be [treated] & rewarded like the best of his neighbors without [any re]ference to the quantity of Beaver—Indeed there is few [men] of them now that can lay claim to any marked distinction [of this] kind[14], so many of them being ambitious of bringing in [the] skins themselves; and I foresee it will particularly be to the [advantage of] this Establishment when a couple of

[14] The position of chief was never a very exalted one among the Puget Sound Indians. This may have been due to the fact that there was less inter-tribal warfare on the Sound than in other parts of the country. Chiefs are developed in times of warfare.

Indians can with [ease] run in on one tide & back the next if so inclined—

[14th Sun]day—Ship getting in Ballast & water—To day it was [neces]sary to come to a decision respecting the professional attendance of Dr. Tolmie, and from the dangerous state of his patient there can be no hesitation on the subject—His Baggage is therefore landed and he remains here for the summer—This circumstance authorizes me to keep at Nusqualley all the Goods & Stores intended for the place, without, as was intended, reshipping any of them for Fort Langley by way of security from the few hands that would be at the place after I left for the Columbia—A good deal of stir about the little establishment this afternoon, canoes arriving by sea—dosens of horses & riders by land—two ploughs at work on an endless plain & a ship riding at anchor before the camp is a scene I venture to say not very common in the Indian country far less at a new Settlement.—Trade upwards of 80 skins of which one of my Clalam[15] customers in Spring—old Quinquastin—gave about one half—The riders are from the vicinity of Mount Renier[16] & seem under the sway of a very fine looking Indian called "Aucha"—[June, 1833—page 7—Interpolation by Huggins] A light breeze of fair wind for the Schooner sprung up in the evening & I hope Ryan will be under weigh with her tomorrow

15th Saturday—The crew of the Vancouver at work on shore early this morning after firewood & spars—Much about the same time we commenced business with Aucha—himself & followers had not above 10 skins—one half of which [they] traded for ammunition at the rate of 15 per Beaver. Wrote to Mr. C. F. Finlayson[17] & also addressed a few [lines] to Mr. Yale with the people's private orders, which [is all] that is on board the Vancouver for Fort Langlay [except] a few trifling stores. It may at same time [be noted] that what is landed here is not much—say [bale of] Blankets—a piece of Duffle[18]—three of Strands[19]—Baize[20]—10 Traps—10 Guns—Ammu: & Tobacco—[and a little] Grain and Stores for the use of a Gentleman—[About] Midday I slipped on board myself & handed [Ryan the] papers—At 2 he was under full sail for po[int Ryan] where, if practicable he will receive the Langley

15 Clalam, Clallam or Klalum ("strong people") were a Salish tribe inhabiting the southern shores of the Straits of Juan de Fuca from Port Discovery to the Hoko river. A few bands of Clallam once inhabited portions of the Vancouver Island and San Juan archipelago.

16 Mount Rainier, oftimes spelled Renier and Regnier, was named by Vancouver in May, 1792, in honor of Rear Admiral Peter Rainier.

17 C. F. Finlayson, not to be confused with Duncan Finlayson or Roderick Finlayson of later experience on the Columbia river.

18 Duffle, a woolen fabric, unclassified in the United States; as made in Austria a heavy-weight kersey.—Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary.

19 Strands—Ropes or cords.

20 Baize—A single-colored napped woollen fabric formerly used for clothing, but now coarsely woven and used for table-covers, curtains, etc.—Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary.

[man] Annanuskun; One of our men here has taken [passage] with him, & immediately on touching there will proceed with timely notice to Mr. Yale.—This man is forward[ed] as Cooper in the room of Rindale, as considerable work in that way is likely to be going on curing salmon—

16th Sunday—Trade about 50 skins this morning again from a few Indians who hung about after the Vessel sailed, and this I apprehend will be the bulk of our trade for the present—The Natives are rather disappointed in the few good things landed from a ship which they Conceived was to spread over them all a profusion of every thing—Rum, Bread & Molasses in their Eyes is a great disideratum—& the total absence of clothing, hats and feathers for the Chiefs is to them an unaccountable omission—Perhaps some of them [will] with a few skins follow the Schooner to Fort Langley—[June, 1833—page 8—Interpolation by Huggins]at all events it is more than likely that those of them about Whidbey's Island who have not been here at all, will wait until her return trusting to something more than they have heretofore seen given—Pierre Charles very uneasy these two last days—Got another salmon from the miserable Indians who are too lazy to exert themselves much though a state of starvation themselves—there is fish now in the Bay and I dare say Stake nets[21] might in time to come be a successful way of taking them. Fortunately had a good deal of rain today tho it did [not] penetrate far into the ground.

[17th] Monday—We still pick up a few skins & of those [ob]tained today three of them were for a Trap—The [weather] since her departure has been very favorable for the Vessel & has probably got to the mouth of the River [by to-] day—All our potatoes now in the ground & have [com]menced ploughing a small patch for a try at with [a] couple bushel of pease notwithstanding the lateness of the season—We have also turned up a little ground with the plough for transplanting cabbages left here in the Spring.—The 2 kegs potatoes brought across the portage at same time were so horribly ill planted after [our] departure that I cannot say much of them—the carrots, Radishes—turnips &c look better—We have now 4 or 5 hands preparing wood for lodgings for our people

18th Tuesday—Had not above 10 skins today—Weather still soft and so far favorable for the ground—Have got our pease sowen & harrowed, & now we have a little corn under way—The Oxen that for some time gave us much trouble in keeping them at hand now begin to get more reconciled to their state of banishment.

[June, 1833—page 9—Interpolation by Huggins.]

19th Wednesday—Two or three of our neighbors again in with

[21] The use of stake nets in the fishing industry at the present time takes the form of huge traps. In this the journal seems prophetic.

about 40 very fine Beaver—all for Blankets—A couple of men today putting up a barrier along the little river, as an obstruction against the passing of Oxen & horses—another of them harrowing the potatoe ground —four about the new building and Ouvrie and Rindale making the Beaver up into packs of 50 ea:—In the evening had a visit from some of the portage Indians—One of them lately from Chinook says that the Ganymede[22] [crossed] the Bar for the Coast 12 days ago, & that there is plenty [of salmon] in the Columbia & Willamette rivers—Pierre [has been] easy for the last two days.—

20th Thursday—Trade about 25 skins—one half [of which] is from the bucks from the Southward, for which [they] got if anything less than we usually give [to the] Indians—With this day I mean for the present [to close] my share of the business at Nusqualley [for] the 20th. I was by appointment with Mr. McLaughlin [to have] been at Fort Vancouver[23]; but unwilling to leave [this] place until most of the skins were got in, & the pri[ncipal] part of the work got over, I prolonged my stay [for] a few days—it could not well be otherwise owing to the late arrival of the schooner—Pierre now is also in a more favorable state—On my departure Doctor Tolmie takes charge assisted by James Rindale, J. B. Ouvrie & 4 other effective men agreeable to my letter of this date to him—Gilbert Powers[24] & 2 Islanders[25] accompany me to the Columbia with the furs now amounting to about 380 skins—

Arch'd McDonald C. T.[26]

21st Friday—Trade 2 beaver—a party with some skins have arrived this evening from the Payallipaw River [Mr.] Macdonald departed after breakfast it was settled that [at] the beginning of Septr a man should be dispatched to Fort Van [June, 1833—page 10—Interpolation by Huggins] to report the state of things here. Gave Chi-

22 Dr. Tolmie had just come to Vancouver on the Ganymede. See note 5, ante. Chinook was a village and point on Baker Bay, Columbia river. The Portage Indians may be either Chehalis or Cowlitz, or both.

23 The exact date of the founding of Fort Vancouver is not known. Astoria had been founded by an American company, but was sold to the Northwest Company, a British concern, shortly after the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812. In 1821 the Northwest Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, another British company, under the title of the latter, and this left the fur enterprise of the northwest in practical possession of one company. In 1824 Governor Simpson came down the Fraser river to Astoria, or as it was then called, Fort George, and planned the organization of the district of the Columbia. As Fort George was not advantageously situated, a new site was selected near Point Vancouver, and a post built some time during 1824. Gradually the effects of the company were removed to Fort Vancouver, which became the headquarters of the district of the Columbia in the spring of 1825, with Dr. McLoughlin as Chief Factor.

24 Gilbert Powers, a servant.

25 The employment of Sandwich or Hawaiian Islanders was common practice. The men were oftimes spoken of as Kanakas.

26 It was customary for a clerk or other subordinate to keep the journal and copy such records and correspondence as was required. Dr. Tolmie had done such work for Dr. McLoughlin just prior to his trip to Nisqually. He is now keeping the journal for Archibald McDonald and signs the latter's name to the journal as a matter of course.

halucum the Soquamis Chief a capot & pair of trowsers as a reward for his services & general good conduct—Told him to visit the Klalams and invite the chiefs hither to trade their skins, which he promised to undertake

22nd Saturday—Trade 15 skins in all from the Payallipas and some petty Indians from the neighborhood of House One of the horses amissing since last night, and a fruitless search has been made for him. Have put the store into some degree of order —

[23rd] Sunday—An Indian from near the Shoots,[27] with 8 skins offered 5 for a gun this morning, and returned frequently during the day, endeavoring to come to terms

[24th] Monday—Trade 12 beaver of which the Indian mentioned yesterday gave 9 for woollens. He was more importunate for presents than any others, but was dealt with in the usual manner—

25th Tuesday—No Trade—The oxen continuing their daily wandering and requiring the almost constant attendance of a man. the experiment was tried yesterday of yoking them together while feeding & proved an effectual preventative to their crossing the Coe[28] altho' somewhat objectionable in other respects. No accounts of the horse, the suspected thief being still absent

26th Wednesday—Trade 10 skins chiefly from a party of Klalams of little note. Horse brought back today

27th Thursday—Trade 19 skins from the Portage Indians—Mr. Chief Trader Heron[29] arrived from the Columbia to assume the charge at this establishment [Mr. Chief Trader "Heron" arrived from Fort Vancouver to take charge of Nisqually 27th June, 1833.—Note by Huggins on margin of page.]

[July, 1833—page 11—Interpolation by Huggins.]

patches[30] from Fort Vancouver, dated the 6th [current]

11th Thursday—Trade 13 beaver from a Sannahomish[31] hunter, he offered two skins for a trap—The men employed in clearing a square of 40 feet, at the summit of the bank, on which a temporary fort is to be erected

12th Friday—Trade a few otter skins from Nusqualley Indians—

27 Shoots. The Deschutes river, which empties into Budd Inlet at Olympia. Any stream which had falls was apt to receive this name. The falls of the Deschutes are at Tumwater, a few miles above Olympia.

28 Coe. The stream referred to is Sequallichew creek.

29 Chief Trader Francis Heron. It is evident from the quotation marks and underscoring of the name in the marginal note by Huggins that he wished to call especial attention to the name.

30 That portion of the journal from Friday, June 27, to Wednesday, July 10, is missing in the manuscript. The pages have not been torn out, but were apparently not included when the journal was bound by Mr. Huggins.

31 Sannahomish or Snohomish, a Salish tribe formerly residing on the southern end of Whidbey Island and on the mainland about the Snohomish river.

The pease and maize sowed about the middle of June are now over an inch above the surface of the ground. The potatoes have not appeared as yet

13th Saturday—Mr. Heron surveyed the swamp [where] the cattle feed, about 1¼ mile from the border About twelve acres of meadow found in two detach[ments] of nearly equal size

14th Sunday—The man from Ft. Vancouver set [out on] his return, accompanied by Billy a Sand[wich] Islander. Chihalicum & a party of Soquamis arrived this afternoon & are to trade tomorrow

15th Monday—A spot on the border of Plain where the Nusqualley path emerges from the wood, being found on Saturday, superior in the points of convenience of & proximity to water, to the intended site of Fort, was today chosen in preference, and the men employed in erecting a temporary store, while a large party of Indians carried up the goods—this evening the work is nearly completed

16 Tuesday—Everything removed to Plain before breakfast & the store & dwelling house is finished. Trade 30 beaver from the Soquamish & some Payallipas

[July, 1833—page 12—Interpolation by Huggins.]

17th Wednesday—Trade a few beaver and some excellent leather from the Nuamish[32] tribe, who inhabit the opposite shores of Sound—Fire has today consumed all the herbage on plain for an extent of several miles

18th Thursday—Trade 21 Beaver from another party of Sinnamish a Checheilis[33] Chief, and the Sannahomish trader who undertook on the 1st Current to deliver Mr H's letter at Fort Langley, but now says that he gave it to a Skalatchet chief. Ouvrie [Ri]ndale & Peter Tahl[34] set out for Fort Langley, the two latter are to remain there

19th Friday—Nothing particular

20th Sat—Several arrivals this evening & the Katchet[35] Chief Nietlam has got upwards of twenty skins himself—Our stock of marketable goods is nearly expended & is unsufficient to meet the demands of the traders present

21st Sunday—No skins traded today—the indians having been informed last night that we intend in future not to trade on Sunday

22nd Monday—Trade about 50 skins—The blue duffle which hitherto was unsaleable has nearly all been disposed of

32 Nuamish. The Duwamish, a small Salish band originally inhabiting the country about Seattle and the Duwamish river. Chief Seattle later held sway over this, as well as the Suquamish tribe across the Sound.

34 Peter Tahl, a servant.

35 The Skagit (Skalitchet, Skalatchet, Scaadchet, Katchet) was a Salish tribe which formerly lived at the mouth of the Skagit river and on Whidbey Island.

23rd Tuesday—Trade 2 beaver—The Indian carried away his two best skins there being nothing in the Store to tempt him to barter—

[July, 1833—page 13—Interpolation by Huggins]

24th Wednesday—A party of Klalums with beaver arrived this evening. Have induced them to remain till tomorrow in case Vivet may arrive with trading goods.

25th Thursday—The Klalums departed this afternoon, after trading their small furs—They say that the principal men of their tribe do not intend visiting us until the ship comes, when [they] are to trade freely.

26th Friday—Nothing particular

27th Saturday—Last night another band of Kl[alums] and this morning two canoes of Thuanoks[36] [arrived] in all about 40 men. They have bartered [skins] & leather but no large beaver.

28th Sunday—Nothing particular

29th Monday—Trade 8 large beaver for Duffle & capots, a considerable quantity of large skins has been carried away

30th Tuesday—Accounts received of "Vivets"[37] arrival at the Chute [Tumwater near Olympia—Interpolation by Huggins] & a canoe dispatched for the Goods—Two indians sent to advertise the tribes along the coast of the approach of goods

31st Wednesday—Vivet appeared at a late hour last night and today 300 blankets besides other articles were received into the store—Preparing the furs for packing by dusting them Trade 5 beaver

August [1833—page 18—Interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 1st—Trade 6 beaver—Ouvrie arrived this evening with a supply of Carpenter's Tools from Fort Langley—He was accompanied by a party of Sannahomish who had delivered to Mr Yale Mr Heron's letter of the 1st Ult. Annawasknow & Louis Sakarata an Iroquois[38] also came

Friday 2nd—Furs amounting to 457 skins beaver & otter packed today—Trade 20 beaver from the Sannahomish.

Saturday 3rd—Vivet detained till the afternoon the arrival [of] Indians being expected. Wm. Brown[39] has accompanied [Viv]et being sent to Vancouver for some milch cows. In the evening large bands of Indians appeared,—Soqua[mi]sh, Sinnamish, Thuanook, & Poyallipa about 300 in num[ber,] old & young

[36] Twana, a Salish tribe living along both sides of Hood Canal.

[37] Louis Vivet, a servant. He was a member of the McMillan party (previously mentioned) which went from Fort George to the Fraser river.

[38] Iroquois. The employment of Iroquois Indians was very common with the Hudson's Bay Company. These Indians inhabit the regions about Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, and are well known in colonial history through the part played by the Five Nations. Both of these men had been with the McMillan party to the Fraser river.

[39] William Brown, a servant. He later is seriously injured.

Sunday 4th—Indians employed in bring the wood composing the two houses at beach & that styled the Farm house, to our present station which they nearly completed

Monday 5—Trade 40 skins from the Soquamish & Sinnamish—The latter have not yet disposed of all their furs

Tuesday 6—8 skins from the Sinnamish—Early in the day some Claaset[40] Indians arrived from the straits of Juan De Fuca, but postponed trading till tomorrow In the afternoon the Checheilis, formerly here. Two men employed in sawing the piquets—The same number in squaring posts for a dwelling house, and one in cutting hay. Pierre Charles now superintends the work being now able to walk with the aid of crutches

August, 1833—[page 15—Interpolation by Huggins]

Wednesday 7—Trade 157 beaver & a sea otter, nearly all from the Claaset Indians to whom we were more liberal than usual in regard of presents, to induce their speedy return, as there is ground for the belief that the whole of their stock has not been disposed of

Thursday 8—Some Klalum arrived and were traded with this afternoon, they did not produce many skins.

Friday 9—Nothing particular

Saturday 10—A few Sannahomish arrived to [day and bar]tered a few beaver—Our stock of goods is [now] much reduced.

Sunday 11—Nothing particular

Monday 12—Nothing particular

Tuesday 13—Ouvrie dispatched to Watskatch Watskalatchew [the] Sannahomish chief to induce him to convey a le[tter] from Mr. Heron to Fort Langley. Six hundred bundles of hay stacked in the Marsh

Wednesday 14—Ouvrie returned early this morning having last night encountered Captain Ryan in the Schooner Cadboro'[41] at the Poyallip Bay. The vessel arrived here about 2 P. M. & brings favorable accounts of the trade at the northern establishments. There has been no opposition on the coast hitherto, nor is it now expected. Capt. R. says

[40] Claaset, or Makah ("strong people"), a tribe of Wakashan stock, closely related to the Nootka Indians, which inhabited the country about Cape Flattery.

[41] The schooner Cadboro was perhaps the most interesting vessel ever in the service in this part of the world. She was built at Rye in 1824, and served until 1862, by which time every member of the party which had come out in her, save one, had died. She was 56 feet long, 17 wide, and was of 72 tons burden. She arrived at Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1827 under the command of her master John Pearson Sawn. Here Sawn relinquished her to Lieut. Emilius Simpson and under him she participated in the founding of Fort Langley. In June, 1831, Sinclaire became captain, and in 1833 William Ryan, followed by Brotchie in 1835, James Scarborough in 1838, James Sangster in 1848, and J. L. Sinclaire in 1854. She participated in the Fraser river gold rush, and in 1860 was sold into the lumber business and finally ended her career in Port Angeles where she ran ashore in a gale.

that Mr. C. F. Finlayson started for Vancouver some weeks ago in the Ganymede

Thursday 15—Taking advantage of the ship's being here Mr. Heron informed the Indians present that in future our tariff should be Two beaver skins for a 2½ pt. Blanket

August, 1833—[page 16—Interpolation by Huggins]

Friday 16—This evening Mr. Heron embarked in the Cadborough, taking along with him the furs (328 skins) is to set out tomorrow morning for Whidbey's Island to survey a spot there spoken of as very suitable for an establishment. He is accompanied by Pierre Charles, Ouvrie & Annawaskum who are to return here when the survey is completed. Instructions are left with me to examine any public dispatches which may arrive & thereafter forward them to Mr. Heron—As Mr. Finlayson has probably ere now arrived we have since Wednesday been waiting for the fulfillment of his promise of sending instructions from Depot made to Capt: Ryan at [Vancouver]

[Satu]rday 17—The Cadborough sailed at an early hour this morning—Her coming has not caused any concourse of Indians here, a sign that beaver is scarce amongst those in the habit of trading with us.

Sunday 18—Bourgeau[42] dispatched after the oxen who again show an inclination to return to Fort Vancouver

Monday 19—No trade The men are employed in mortising and laying the pickets

Tuesday 20—Bourgeau returned this morning having found the cattle near the Grand Prairie[43]

Wednesday 21—A party Scaadchet arrived but would not trade at the Two Beaver Tariff

August, 1833 [page 17—Interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 22—Another band of Scaadchet arrived but on being informed of the Tariff they immediately departed

Friday 23—A hay stack of about 800 bundles formed in the Marsh the men have now finished the mortizing &c of pickets for 150 feet

Saturday 24—The men are today engaged in [repair]ing the boat.

Sunday 25—Nothing particular

Monday 26—Mr. Heron returned in a ca[noe] today having dispatched the Cadboro' to F[ort Langley] & brought the furs back He

42 Bourgeau. This is probably Alexis Aubuchon, a servant, a member of the McMillan party to the Fraser river in 1824. See Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824, previously quoted.

43 Grand Prairie, near Tenino. The cattle must have strayed a distance of 25 miles.

has found an extensive & fertile plain [on Whid]bey's Island[44] The repair of boat is co[mpleted]

Thursday 27—The cutting of pickets & squaring [timber] for a house are again commenced. P. Ch[arles] superintends the work & is now able to assist [in] squaring. Some Payallip arrived with beav[er] but declined trading

Wednesday 28—Some beaver brought by a Soquamish Chief but could not be obtained[45]—The men employed as yesterday

Thursday 29th—The duties of the place as yesterday. Dr. Tolmie at his own desire set out on a botanizing excursion towards Mount Renier accompanied by a few Indians whom he[46] employs for the purpose—A few Indians arrived partly for the purpose of trading, but nothing was accomplished in that way with them the raised tariff being the sticknig point

Augt. 1833 [page 18—Interpolation by Huggins]

Friday 30th—The men employed preparing wood for a dwelling house and arranging fort pickets—Beaver were again offered for sale, at one skin per blanket which of course prevented a bargain taking place, as I am firm to the new prices of two beaver per Blanket—

Saturday 31st—The men occupied as yesterday—

[September, 1833—Interpolation by Huggins]

[Sund]ay 1st—Many Indians on the ground—

[Mon]day 2nd—The men resumed work as last week—Some Indians arrived and others left which is a daily occurrence

[Tues]day 3rd—Put all hands to work at erecting a store of 30 by 20—No trade—

Wednesday 4th—Duties of the place as yesterday

Thursday 5th—The men employed much the same as yesterday, the only difference being that two of them were part of the day stacking hay, which was cut in the early part of last week—Doctor Tolmie returned safe after collecting a variety of plants[47]—

[44] Mr. Heron had in mind the establishment of a trading post better situated than Nisqually. The site here indicated is that portion of Whidbey"s Island near Ebey's Landing and Fort Casey. The soil at Ebey's Landing is as rich as any in the world, and being prairie land, required no clearing. Near Fort Casey is Crockett's Lake, an added attraction. H. H. Bancroft is of the opinion that if the Hudson's Bay Company had founded a post on Whidbey Island, this island and San Juan Archipelago might be British territory today.

[45] Following the word "obtained" the handwriting changes. Dr. Tolmie has left on an excursion and the entries are probably by Mr. Heron, the chief trader. It must be kept in mind that Dr. Tolmie is but a surgeon and has little rank in the company. He is performing the duties of a clerk in keeping the journal. While at Fort Vancouver Dr. McLaughlin had employed him part of the time in copying correspondence to be forwarded to London.

[46] "Whom he employs * * * " In the manuscript the word "he" is underscored to call attention to the fact that the Indians are paid from Dr. Tolmie's pocketbook and not by the establishment.

[47] Dr. Tolmie has now returned and his handwriting in the journal is resumed.

Friday 6—One Blanket disposed of at the new price to the Portage Chief Sennatea, who has been hanging on for some days back

Saturday 7—No trade—Beaver offered by a portage indian at the tariff of 3 for 2 blankets

September, 1833 [page 19—Interpolation by Huggins]

Sunday 8—Some more beaver offered by Sennatea but not coming to terms he has left the skins with us till his return from the Portage

Monday 9—One man employed in mowing rushes to be used in thatching houses if no better covering arrives—The rest of the men are either completing the store or erecting their own dwelling houses which was today commenced by two of them

Tuesday 9[48]—Six beaver traded, at the new tariff from [ ] our horse keeper on the Cowlitz P[rarie][49] He has brought the six horses here [which were] in poor condition—The men employed as yesterday

Wednesday 10[50]—Two men engaged in flooring [the store] with squared logs & the remaining f[our] [occu]pied with the dwelling house. H[eron is taking an] inventory of the goods & Provisions on [hand]

Thursday 12—Indians employed to bring us clay, fr[om] a neighboring island, for the construction of chimnies

Friday 13—Two men sent to the Nusqualley R to split cedar into boards for roofing houses, they were accompanied by some Indians & conducted by Ouvrie Rest of men occupied as on Wednesday.

Saturday 14—Men employed in same manner as yesterday Those employed in spliting cedar have discovered, wood more at hand than the River

September, 1833 [page 20—Interpolation by Huggins]

Sunday 15—Nothing of note

Monday 16—Two men employed in splitting cedar & Ouvrie assisted by an Indian in bringing hither the boards already made. Four men erecting the gables of the store.

Tuesday 17—Three men engaged with store three in squaring logs for Mr Heron's dwelling house & Ouvrie with an Indian in getting home the boards split yesterday Two Indians arrived with a few beaver but departed again without offerring to trade

Wednesday 18—Men employed as yesterday The store is now

[48] An error in dating. Corrected, the manuscript should read Tuesday 10.

[49] The Cowlitz Farm of the Hudson's Bay Company was begun about 1849. In 1837 Simon Plomondeau, one of the worn out servants of the Company, was settled upon the Cowlitz Prairie by Dr. McLoughlin as a farmer. Two years later the company surveyed some four thousand acres of the Cowlitz Prairie land and commenced farming on a large scale. The Company were using this land at this early date.

[50] An error in dating. Corrected, the manuscript should read Wednesday 11.

roofed & a chimney has been commenced in the apartment intended for a bedroom. Ouvrie assisted by 3 Indians occupied in splitting cedar Three others have been supplied with two axes for the same purpose The Cadboro' has been seen at dusk about 5 miles distant

Thursday 19—The Cadboro' arrived early; her cargo for this place was landed by noon & has been carried hither by Indians who were regaled with rum and molasses at the conclusion of their labors

Friday [20]—Work continued as on Tuesday except that Anaswakum has taken the duty of Ouvrie who was busy at home. The furs amounting to 353 lge. skins & 76 small were shipped on board the Cadboro' & Captain Ryan received directions to proceed forthwith to Fort Vancouver

September, 1833 [page 21—Interpolation by Huggins]

Saturday 21—Before breakfast men occupied as yesterday; for the rest of the day they were all at work completing bedroom & shop & removing goods &c to latter & I have tonight taken up my abode in the former The Cadboro' sailed this morning.

Sunday 22—Some of the Challouina[51] Indians arrived

Monday 23—A few beaver bartered for traps the price of which Mr Heron has lowered from 3 to 2 skins. Mr. H. set out early this morning for the [Chutes on] his way to Vancouver & I have dispatched 5 [men] to join him at the former place, in charge [of Bour]geau who is sent to bring back the [ ] Mr H. is accompanied by Ouvrie & Louis [who goes] no further than the Chute & is to return in ch[arge of the] canoe. Pierre Charles has been making a cou[nter for] the store & the remaining men have [commenced] the demolition of former Store & dw[ellings] the boards comprising which are now [to be used for] other purposes

Tuesday 24—Louis & Bourgeau both returned Pierre [is making] a window frame the others squaring logs except Wasaisen who resumed the cedar splitting

Wednesday 25—Work going on as yesterday. A Scadchet chief, who has already been here since the change of tariff appeared at dusk

Thursday 26—The Scadchet Saghomadum brought his skins to the trading shop, but after a long debate regarding the tariff departed without trading Pierre making shelves in the store & poles on [which] to

51 Challouina or Halloweena are recorded by John Work in his journal for November and December, 1824 (previously mentioned). The expedition is now on the Black river making its way from the Chehalis river to Eld Inlet. Here they meet Indians and under date of December 1, Work narrates: "Since we have been here several of the Halloweena Indians from the neighboring village have visited us. Their mode of life, manners, language, etc., differ little from the Chihaills, indeed, they may be considered as a detached part of that tribe." Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1841, describes them as the Sachal Indians. I. I. Stevens (Pac. Ry. Reports) mentions them as the Squaiaitl.

suspend the dried salmon rec'd. from Ft Langley the other men employed as on Tuesday

September, 1833 [page 22—Interpolation by Huggins]

Friday 27—Saghomadun on his second visit to the shop today traded 8 large beaver at the new tariff—Fine cotton shirts are readily disposed of for a beaver, but the printed are never asked for, altho' placed in a conspicuous situation of Store

Saturday 28—Pensilkimum a Sinamish hunter offered skins at former tariff. Work proceeding as on Thursday. A sufficiency of boards to roof the people's dwelling house has now been prepared & the oxen have this afternoon been engaged in getting them home

[Sund]ay 29—A few Otter skins bartered by the Sinamish chief this evening

[Monda]y 30—Work resumed as on Saturday except that Pierre has been employed in roofing the people's house—The Simamish departed in the forenoon

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By Edward S. Curtis, Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. (Seattle, Edward S. Curtis, 1915. Volume X. Pp. 366, illustrations, 74. Portfolio X, containing 36 large plates. $3500.00 for completed set of twenty volumes and twenty portfolios.)

As former volumes of this monumental work have appeared they have been noted in this Quarterly. Our readers are therefore well aware of the facts that Volume I contains a foreword by Theodore Roosevelt and that the field research was conducted under the patronage of J. Pierpont Morgan. On reaching the half-way station in this wonderful literary and scientific journey, Edward S. Curtis, the author, sent a letter to the University of Washington, which with his usual dignified self-restraint gives essential facts as follows:

"Volume and portfolio X of 'The North American Indian' is now being sent to you. I feel that this volume is in many respects worthy of special consideration. The Indian life of the region covered presents many unique and even startling phases. These hardy, sea-going people had developed the ceremonial life until it was a veritable pageant. It is, perhaps, safe to say that nowhere else in North America had the natives developed so far towards a distinctive drama.

"With these people we have our best opportunity to study ceremonial cannibalism in America, also it is here that head-hunting seemed to have reached its height. Taking the head as evidence of success in war or plunder was common along the shores of the Pacific, from the Columbia River to the region of the Eskimo; but the Kwakiutl and their neighbors, the Haida, appear to have excelled in this practice. Strange as it may seem, the further the coast tribes had developed in culture which tended towards civilization and the greater their vigor, the more pronounced their warfare and the taking of heads. The poor and lowly tribes could scarce risk war raids, whereas the more powerful and aggressive tribes, rich in canoes and slaves, could well take the hazard of warfare and thus add further to the wealth of their chiefs, by securing more slaves, and, at the same time, add to their tribal standing by the taking of heads. As you will see by the text of the volume, slavery was an important institution.

"No volume of the series has required an equal amount of labor in the collecting of data, and in few places have I been so fortunate in

securing information needed. The book is, in bulk, somewhat thicker than the average while in actual words, it contains double the amount of material as in former volumes. Deeming the data collected of the utmost importance and not wishing the book to be noticeably thicker, we have had special paper made, which is thinner than that formerly used.

"The pageant-like ceremonies of the life, their great canoes and ocean-shore homeland, have afforded rare material for pictures. Again, their rich ceremonial life, combined with their skill in carving and fertile imagination in the designing of ceremonial paraphernalia, furnishes costume material not found elsewhere.

"Quite aside from the extraordinary features of the volume, I feel that it occupies an unusual position in that it is the half-way goal in our undertaking. I believe every subscriber of the work will share in the feeling of satisfaction. We have reached this point, and we know that each volume, as far as material permitted, has grown stronger than the previous one.

"Volume XI is ready for publication and it is hoped it can be completed by the end of the year. There is but little further work to do in the preparation of volume XII and its publication can be taken on as soon as volume XI is free from the press."

It is difficult for the present reviewer to maintain an equal self-restraint in commenting on this unique work. It is absorbing the life of a vigorous, energetic man of great talent and is surely destined to be one of the world's real monuments in book form.

As the author has said, the present volume is greater both in bulk and in value than any of the nine volumes that precede it. To those familiar with the excellence of these former volumes, this is strong praise.

As indicated in the caption, there are in the volume and portfolio one hundred and ten illustrations,—those marvels that the world has long since recognized by the familiar name of "Curtis Indian Pictures." At this rate the subscribers to the completed sets will pay less than two dollars each for the pictures alone and it is well known that some of the pictures have sold for forty dollars each when purchaseable at all.

But the pictures, wonderful as they are, by no means comprise the entire value of the work. The text is winning an ever warmer and more sincere valuation at the hands of the best authorities in America.

The printing by The Plimpton Press, Norwood, Massachusetts, and the binding by H. Blackwell are as near perfection as could be desired. The Librarian of Guildhall Library, London, has pronounced these to be the finest specimens of book-making extant, except the "Miniatures" by J. Pierpont Morgan.

Seattle certainly has reason for increasing pride in the achievements of this dignified citizen, Edward S. Curtis.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

JOURNAL KEPT BY DAVID DOUGLAS DURING HIS TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA 1823-1827. Together with a particular description of thirty-three species of American oak and eighteen species of Pinus. With appendices containing a list of the plants introduced by Douglas and an account of his death in 1834. Published under the direction of the Royal Horticultural Society. (London: William Wesley and Son. 1914. Pp. 364.)

The extended title of this volume gives a very good idea as to just what it contains. Its contents naturally fall into three groups.

The first group consists of Douglas's own accounts of his journeys. These are mainly day-by-day accounts of his expeditions and give lists and brief descriptions of the plants collected, notes on their habits, accounts of his adventures, and interesting comments on the regions through which he passed. The first one deals with his travels in Eastern North America in 1823. The second is a general sketch of his journey made to Northwest America (1824-1827) under the auspices of the Horticultural Society of London. The third is the detailed journal of this expedition including the overland trip from Fort Vancouver to Hudson Bay and the return from there to England in a whaling vessel. The fourth comprises a partial account of his second expedition to Northwest America (1830-33). This was the expedition on which he continued his journey to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, where he met his death July 12, 1834.

The second group consists of two articles descriptive of groups of American plants, written by Douglas. The first of these articles, "American Oaks," consists of an annotated list (accompanied by a key) of the known species of American oaks of eastern North America, mainly those that he saw during his journey in that region in 1823. To this he has added at a later date an account of an oak (Quercus garryana) which is limited to the Pacific Coast region. This species Douglas named in honor of N. Garry, an official of the Hudson Bay Company. The second article is a description of "Some American Pines." To this genus, at the time that Douglas wrote, were assigned not only what we now call pines, but also the Douglas fir, the noble fir, the lovely fir, the white fir, the western hemlock, and the Sitka spruce. The advance of morphological knowledge since that time has made it evident that these cannot all be classed under the genus Pinus, but are more naturally classified under five different genera.

The third group consists of papers, written by others persons, relating to the life, work, and death of Douglas. These are as follows: "Memoir of David Douglas," "Account of Douglas' Death in the Sandwich Islands," "Inscription on Douglas' Monument at Honolulu," "A List of Papers Written by Douglas," "Plants Introduced by Douglas," and "A Description of Ice Lettuce" (one of the plants introduced by Douglas to Europe from America).

The volume is fully indexed with both Latin and English names of plants as well as with personal and geographic names.

The collections of plants made by Douglas on his various journeys cover a considerable portion of North America as well as part of Hawaii. He collected over a considerable area of what is now the State of Washington as well as portions of Oregon and Idaho. On the coast he collected around Willapa Harbor, Grays Harbor, and the mouth of the Columbia river. Inland in this region he followed mainly the Columbia river and the Snake river. In addition to covering with considerable thoroughness the entire course of these rivers lying within and along the three states mentioned, he made extensive collections at Walla Walla and in the Blue Mountains. He also made collections on his overland journey from the Columbia river to Hudson Bay. His travels were mainly on foot or by canoe, though a portion of one journey was made on horseback. He did an enormous amount of work under conditions that would have discouraged any man not possessed of a stout heart and an indomitable will.

Douglas collected the seeds of such species as he found in a suitable state of maturity and thus introduced to Europe many plants from America. Among these was the Douglas fir (Pseudotsuga taxifolia), many noble specimens of which are still growing in England. Through his collections there were introduced into the gardens of the London Horticultural Society, by whom he had been selected to make the two trips to Northwest America, 210 species of North American plants. Of these, 80 were considered mere "botanical curiosities" and thus cultivation was abandoned. The growing of the other 130 species was continued and they were distributed to all parts of the world.

In addition to the Douglas fir, he introduced also the western white pine (Pinus monticola), the broad leaf maple (Acer macrophyllum) and the vine maple (A. circinatum). Among the shrubs introduced were salal (Gaultheria shallon) and the tall Oregon grape (Berberis aquifolium). Among the herbaceous flowers were the yellow rice-root (Fritillaria pudica) and the musk flower (Mimulus moschatus).

The Douglas fir as well as several other important conifers of the Puget Sound region (e. g., the lovely fir and the noble fir) was first made known generally through Douglas' description. The Douglas fir had pre-

viously been seen by Menzies and by Lewis, but had not become generally known.

Some portions of Douglas' journal were published in 1836 by Sir W. J. Hooker in the "Companion to the Botanical Magazine" and the paper was later reprinted by the Oregon Historical Society. His collections were described in Hooker's Flora Boreali-Americana (1829-1840). In the main, however, the contents of the present volume are now for the first time made available for the general public.

The publication of this journal is a matter of interest and gratification to botanists. The pioneer botanical work in any region is necessarily concerned with the collecting and naming of plants. The taxonomic work must precede investigations in the more modern fields of morphology, ecology, pathology, and physiology. In the extent of territory covered, in the number of new species added to science, as well as the number introduced to cultivation in other countries, and in patience and perseverance under trying and even perilous circumstances, Douglas certainly ranks first among that remarkable group of pioneer collectors who made possible the present progress in botany in the Pacific Northwest.

His untimely death at the early age of 35 occurred in the Sandwich Islands in 1834. Such particulars as could be learned regarding the circumstances of his death were made known through a letter from missionaries of Hawaii to the British consul at the Sandwich Islands. It need hardly be added that the book is interesting and valuable to historians as well as to botanists.

GEORGE B. RIGG.

THE POLITICAL AND SECTIONAL INFLUENCE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS, 1828-1842. By Raynor G. Wellington. (Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1914. Pp. 131. $1.25).

The land question has been a subject of much debate since the settlement of America and out of it has come a good deal of discussion. Private property in land, the influence of free land on democracy, the political part played by the cession of the common lands by the various states to the central government, and the economic issues arising out of the growth of slavery are some of the points of view elaborated by many writers. The angles of approach to the subject vary with the individual and his interests.

The present study attempts to show how the public lands, owing to the growth of sections having conflicting economic interests, became a subject for political bargainings and sectional alliances. As Professor Wellington well points out: "The struggles of the sections were centering about these three economic issues—tariff, public lands, and internal improvements. The interest of the different sections in these issues, in the order

of their importance was as follows: The Northwest—Low-priced public lands, internal improvements a high tariff; the Southwest—Low-priced public lands, a low tariff, internal improvements; the Seaboard South—A low tariff, no internal improvements at federal expense, high-priced public lands; the North Atlantic States—A high tariff, high-priced public lands, internal improvements. Under these conditions the North Atlantic States, the South and the West, needed the assistance of another section to get what each wanted most—a high tariff, a low tariff, and freedom of the public domain respectively. The most likely combination was for each allying section to give up a secondary interest in order to obtain its primary interest."

Under other conditions the disposition of the public lands would have been a difficult rational problem, but a scientific settlement might have been reached. Compromise was the only thing possible, however, from 1828 to 1842, the period under discussion. The topic brought out in succeeding chapter on the relations between the question of the public lands and the tariff, the influence of the surplus and the panic during Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations, the election of 1840, and the attempts of the Whigs to use the election to further their own interests. The political influence of the question is brought out by the citation of opinions by Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Van Buren, Benton and other leaders whose views effected their political standing. It is interesting to note that although the West was growing in influence in regard to free land the passage of the Homestead Act was not possible before the outbreak of the Civil War.

In conclusion it may be said that the monograph is written in a thoroughly scientific manner and that the facts, gleaned from a wide range of primary sources, bring out the conditions and are stated in support of all conclusions. The result is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the influence of land on American economic and political conditions.

GEORGE MILTON JANES.

GROWTH OF AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS FROM 1776 TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1914. By James Quayle Dealey, Professor of Social and Political Science in Brown University. (Boston, Ginn and Co. 1915. Pp. 308. $1.40).

The present book began as a series of newspaper articles, grew into a supplement number of the annals of the Academy of Social and Political Science in 1907 and now appears in a new and enlarged form as a valuable hand book on American State Constitutions. Part I, about one-third of the book, traces in outline, the changes in State Constitutions from

the organization of the state governments down to the end of 1914. Separate chapters deal with the changes of each period and each state adopting or seriously modifying its constitution is given a paragraph setting forth in brief the changes made. The second part of eleven chapters (138 pp.), dealing with the provisions of Existing State Constitutions, groups the existing provisions under such headings as "Suffrage and Elections," "The Executive Department," "The Organization of the Legislative Department and Its Procedure," and "Popular Representation in, and Limitations on the Legislature." Part one lends itself conveniently to tracing the historical development of a single one or all the States, while if one is concerned only with the results of these changes they are very readily found in the appropriate chapters of part two. One part gives, so to speak, a longitudinal section. The other permits a cross-sectional view. The third and final part summing up the trend of this development since 1776, also contains "Constructive suggestions as to the probable trend of changes in State Constitutions during the next few years." It is from this division of the book that the reader will get the most surprises unless he has, like Prof. Dealey, followed constitutional changes very closely. For instance, it comes with a good deal of a shock to be told, after all one has heard about manhood suffrage, "That the lists of registered voters in some states are, in percent, no larger than the voting lists of the revolutionary period." Then we had property and religious qualifications, now we have registration requirements, educational qualifications, or educational qualifications with alternatives of property or tax qualifications. "Such fluctuations in the percent of voting population, varying from an electorate including less than five percent of the population to those of women's suffrage states where approximately half of the population is eligible to the voting lists, indicates wide variations in social conditions and in democratic theory and practice" (p. 263). However, taking the population as a whole, from 20 to 25 per cent of it can be found on the registration lists of the state unitedly.

Speaking of the limitations placed on the legislatures through increasing the powers of the executive, of the electorate and of the constitutional convention, Prof. Dealey raises the question whether, after subtracting "All these limitations on legislative powers from the totality * * * it is worth while to retain large and expensive legislatures to exercise their small residue of petty powers." He finds that the membership in our state legislatures number unitedly over seven thousand and their sessions cost us about fourteen and a quarter million dollars biennially, and adds, "No one for a moment supposes that the states get their money's worth in return for the enormous expenditure" (p. 279).

does discuss very acutely and sanely the necessity for legislative reorganization and hints that possibly the trend of the cities toward commission government may open the way of future state development. The problems involved in legislative procedure and those growing out of overloading the governor in large states are very real problems that are carefully dealt with at length.

The book will fill a place of importance in the hands of all those who wish to inform themselves on the problems of the State Constitution. A good bibliography and index add to its value.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

A HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA. By Seymour Dunbar. (New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1915. Four volumes. Pp. 1529. $10.00).

A comprehensive and intensive study of the creation and development of facilities for movement and communication in the American colonies and the United States. This work is monumental in its scope and inspirational in its effect. It takes its place, and a consequental place, too, in the newer conception of history that is fast being revealed under the application of modern scholarship, a conception that the history of a people is economic, social, scientific at least as much as it is political and martial. The result of a reading of it is to arouse fresh admiration for the vigor and courage of the pioneers in every field of American life, sympathy with what Mr. Dunbar terms the feverish energy of the builders, and renewed faith in democracy; for it is to the multitude that the author gives largest measure of credit for the rapid progression from the travaux to the transcontinental trains.

Throughout this progression—the author makes the point quite clear—the conflict between new and old, between the ventured suggestion or idea and the tradition or custom long relied on, was present and keen. At times the struggle between that which obtained and that which was proposed overwhelmed temporarily the forces for new things. It is in his consideration of this point that Mr. Dunbar pays the greatest of numerous tributes to the mass of the American people. Particularly, he says, in the matter of the development of steamboat transportation and of the early railroads, the leaders in political and industrial life did not always see the chance that presented itself, and petty men and state jealousies intervened to the retardation of progress. It was in those epochs that "the multitude of the people" saw clearly, and the triumph eventually was theirs.

An interesting thesis for the consideration of the historian is advanced

by the author in the credit he enters for the whole process of transportation development in its bearing on the nature of the American nation as we know it today. He submits that the transportation systems of today, and as they are projected for the immediate future, are at once the result and one of the means of the crystallization of the idea of the value of united action. That idea, as Mr. Dunbar outlines it, first took form in the American revolution and gained accessions of strength and expansion in the experiences of the Confederation and of the acquisition of the Louisiana territory. It is the idea underlying the present uniformity of the transportation system as a whole.

The working out of that thesis involved the carrying of the history of travel into all the phases of national development that affected transportation or were in any major way influenced by transportation. Summarizing the conclusions thus wrought out, Mr. Dunbar finds that "there are five events which occupy in history positions very similar to those held by decisive battles in the story of a nation's political life: (1.) Organization of the Ohio country and the Northwest Territory, 1787-89; (2.) Public recognition of the value of steam, 1807-09; (3.) Beginning of railway period, 1829; (4.) Discovery of gold in the West, 1848-49; (5.) Completion of the first transcontinental railway, 1869."

Back of these general conslusions, the author has gathered a detailed array of supporting facts. He has marshalled his materials with evident orderliness. His presentation is in language at once making for easy and pleasurable reading, for substantial information, and for the stimulatiion of the imagination. His style is appropriate to the periods on which he dwells and to the events and opinions and emotions of those periods. He is vigorously picturesque, with the pioneers; partisanly opinionated with the politicians of the middle period; feverishly energetic with the builders of the transcontinentals, cool and planning with the financiers. Mr. Dunbar realizes the value of portrayal of the human elements in the history with which he is concerned, and he brings out with manifest care the traits and eccentricities of the individual inventors and builders. The reader lives through one epoch of transportation after another not only with the society of that time, but with the men who then were the leading figures in the prevalent system and the men who were to initiate the succeeding means.

"Those individual figures and throngs of mankind who inhabit the pages of written history should not be manikins or mummies, but living men enacting their daily deeds, vitalized with the spirit that moved them while they were indeed here," says Mr. Dunbar. "We should be able to see them, to hear their cries of fear or delight; to smile at their revelry;

feel anger at their evil and deceit, regret at thier blunders, pride in their worthy accomplishments."

Thus, in company with the mass and with the individuals of one period following another, by the methods of transportation that succeeded one to another, the reader moves through the wondrous story of the rise of a nation and a world power. The work is tonic for Americans, especially in these times, when we take for granted the four-day ocean steamship and the 90-hour transcontinental train. "We are privileged to remember, if we choose, that once upon a time the express boats on the canals maintained a speed of three miles an hour for day after day, and that the Pioneer Fast Line advertised it would rush its passengers through from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in four days—and often nearly kept its word."

FRANK G. KANE.

THE RIVERSIDE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Wm. E. Dodd. Four volumes. (Boston, Houghton, Mufflin Co. 1915. Pp. x..+275; vi.+346; xii.+329; 342. $1.25 per volume.)

A question repeatedly asked of every teacher of American History is "Where can I get a convenient, brief account of American history that is interesting and accurate? Something between the ordinary text book and the more extensive and exhaustive histories?" It is to meet this need, as well as the needs of students in college classes, that this interesting and neatly made series is written by four of the best known of the younger historians. Prof. Carl L. Becker, of the University of Kansas, traces the story of the "Beginnings of the American People" from the discovery of the New World to the Revolution of 1776, from the standpoint of a student of modern European history. Naturally enough then the emphasis is placed more strongly upon our European beginnings than is customary in most American histories. In the reviewer's opinion this is carried a little too far in view of the brief compass of the volumes, but this is a matter largely of opinion. Everywhere in the series the object has been to portray only those things which have counted in the final make up, and everything else has been sacrificed.

Prof. Allen Johnson, of Yale University, continues the narrative in "Union and Democracy" to the rise of Jacksonian democracy and has carefully and interestingly organized a rather tangled period. The editor of the series, Prof. Dodd, of Chicago University, has written the third volume, "Expansion and Conflict," which carries the narrative through to the collapse of the Confederacy and has done a capital piece of work. In this and the preceding volume emphasis is laid upon the economic and

industrial factors influencing the country as a whole, and also the physiographic sections. The influence of Prof Turner and the Wisconsin school are plainly evident.

The final word is with Prof. Paxson, of Wisconsin, in the "New Nation," which brings the narrative down to the present. The volume opens with the picture of President Wilson and the last chapter is called the New Nationalism, so that here we are among familiar names and faces. The volumes on the whole are well written, though Prof. Becker's style will perhaps prove troublesome to a reader accustomed to less involved sentences. At times Prof. Paxson seems to feel little sympathy with the protests of his period and it seems to crop out in the telling. But these are minor faults in a worthy work very well done. When one contemplates the extent of the field covered and the necessity for brevity and conciseness it would be uncharitable to quibble over sentences or paragraphs that could easily be made more satisfying if one had the room.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

IN THE OREGON COUNTRY. By George Palmer Putnam. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. Pp. xxi + 169. $1.75 net.)

Under the above title the author introduces his reader to the West in twelve chapters of unconventional travelogue. He confines himself to no particular form of discourse or style, but with history, narration, pathos and humor, epitomizes various phases of western life and country. The book will gratify the popular reader, and the historian who desires to catch more of the spirit of the West will profit by reading it. It will prove a rare delight to the tourist who contemplates a visit to the Western country this summer, and moreover will probably influence many such to plan trips to the Pacific Northwest, while the usual foreign goals of the travelers are closed by the great war.

VICTOR J. FARRAR.

RECOLLECTIONS OF MY BOYHOOD. By Jesse Applegate. (Roseburg, Oregon. Review Publishing Company, 1914. Pp. 99.)

This fine old pioneer of the famous immigration of 1843 has told in charming fashion the intensely interesting story of the journey across the plains and of the early life in Oregon.

There are five chapters with the following descriptive headings: "From the Mississippi to the Columbia," "Down the Columbia to the Willamette," "Our First Winter and Summer in Oregon," "Experiences in the Willamette Valley," "We Move to the Umpqua Valley."

The little book is well worth while and it is to be hoped that other

pioneers will emulate this example. Historians of the future are sure to delve in such writings for the rich gold of real experience.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN JOINT SESSION OF SENATE AND HOUSE: Fourteenth legislature of the State of Washington, 1915. Compiled by A. J. Hoskin. (Olympia, Public Printer, 1915. Pp. 150.)

This volume printed as a public document gives brief biographical addresses of twenty-one members of former sessions of the Washington State Legislature. The addresses are eulogistic, but give in convenient form many biographical facts. A portrait is furnished of each subject memorialized.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE PACIFIC FISHERIES SOCIETY AT ITS FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 10-12, 1914, AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON. (Seattle, The Society, 1915. Pp. 105.)

The Pacific Fisheries Society was organized about one year ago. It has as its aim a cooperation among fishermen, cannerymen, retailers, fish culturists, anglers and naturalists. Among the practical proposals made by this organization is the establishment of a school of fisheries to be located at the University of Washington.

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS: PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE LEAGUE OF WASHINGTON MUNICIPALITIES, OLYMPIA, JANUARY 25-27, 1915. (Seattle, The Society, 1915. Pp. 65.)

Seventy-five percent of the population of the State of Washington lives in cities according to this the second published report of the Proceedings of the League of Washington Municipalities. Municipal problems are therefore of vital concern to the welfare of the state. Home rule, municipal budgets, election laws, visiting nurses, and the extermination of rats were among the principal topics discussed at the Olympia Convention.

ACROSS THE PLAINS TO CALIFORNIA IN 1852. Journal of Mrs. Lodisa Frizzell. Edited from the original manuscript in the New York Public Library by Victor Hugo Paltsits. (New York, Public Library, 1915. Pp. 30.)

The Journal of Lodisa Frizzell records the observations made on an overland journey from Little Wabash River in Illinois over the St.

Joseph and Oregon Trails to the South Pass in Wyoming. This quaint narrative is full of human interest and throws many interesting side lights on travel over the Oregon Trail in the early fifties. The author's illustrations are reproduced and editorial footnotes add to the value of the Journal.

UNIVERSITY LECTURES IN THE FREE PUBLIC LECTURE COURSE, 1913-1914. By Members of the Faculty. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1915. Pp. 597.)

Here are collected into permanent form twenty-nine lectures on a great variety of topics. Two of the lectures may be said to be of especial interest here. One is by Professor Frank P. Graves, former President of the University of Washington on "Is the Montessori Method a Fad?" The other is "The Monroe Doctrine and American Foreign Policy," by Professor L. S. Rowe.

Dean Graves concludes his lecture thus: "The Montessori method can be accounted a fad only when half-baked devotees treat it as something that has leaped full-panoplied from devine head and prostrate themselves before it in blind worship."

Professor Rowe shows the importance of Russian claims on the Pacific in the origin of the Monroe Doctrine. His lecture is a learned exposition of the large subject in necessarily brief compass.

ROBERT FULTON. By Alice Crary Sutcliffe. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 175. Fifty cents.)

The object and purpose of this member of the "True Stories of Great Americans" is best told in the opening paragraph of the preface: "On board the fine passenger boat, Robert Fulton, one of the several queen steamers of the Hudson River Day Line, on a May morning when the beauty of the incomparable river spread in calm perfection before contented eyes, a great-granddaughter of Robert Fulton began to write, for younger readers, this story of the steamboat inventor's life."

THE PAPERS OF ARCHIBALD D. MURPHY. Edited by William Henry Hoyt. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914. Two volumes. Pp. xviii+399, iv+508.)

Archibald Debow Murphy earned for himself in the first quarter of the nineteenth century such titles as "father of the public schools of North Carolina," "father of internal improvements in North Carolina,"

and "first native historian of North Carolina." These two volumes contain a brief memoir of his life and a collection of his writings.

THE NEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS WORK. By James T. Young. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 66. $2.25.)

This book is one of the series known as "Social Science Text-Books," edited by Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin. The author, James T. Young, is Professor of Public Administration in the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania.

There are many aids to make the book serviceable as a text, such as the table of cases cited, references and test questions at the ends of chapters and two appendices, one giving the constitution and the other entitled "The Distrust of State Legislatures. The Cause; the Remedy."

ANNUAL MAGAZINE SURJECT INDEX, 1914. Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. (Boston, Boston Book Company, 1915. Pp. 264.)

The magazines published by the various state historical societies are indexed in the Annual Magazine Subject Index. It thus becomes a reference book of special value to historical students. On the whole the indexing is well done, but greater care in the use of subject headings and cross references would greatly improve this important index.

THE DOUBLE-CURVE MOTIVE IN NORTHEASTERN ALGONKIAN ART. By Frank G. Speck. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1914. Pp. 17 and 18 plates.)

SOME MYTHS AND TALES OF THE OJIBWA OF SOUTHEASTERN ONTARIO. Collected by Paul Radin. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1914. Pp. 83.)

PREHISTORIC AND PRESENT COMMERCE AMONG THE ARCTIC COAST ESKIMO. By V. Stefansson. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1914. Pp. 29 and map.)

THE GLENOID FOSSA IN THE SKULL OF THE ESKIMO. By F. H. S. Knowles. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1915. Pp. 25.)

These are publications of the Canadian Department of Mines of which Hon. Louis Coderre is Minister. The first two are "Memoirs," being Numbers 1 and 2 of the Anthropological Series. The second two

are "Museum Bulletins," being Numbers 3 and 4 of the Anthropological Series. The titles are descriptive. It remains to say that the printing is well done and the whole bears additional evidence of the intelligent interest taken in these matters by the Canadian Government.

A DICTIONARY OF THE CHOCTAW LANGUAGE. By John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert. (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1915. Pp. xi+611.)

This is one of the valuable publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. It is listed as Bulletin 46.

ANNUAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT, 1914. By Rowland B. Orr, Director. (Toronto, Ontario Provincial Museum, 1914. Pp. 99.)

The report is lavishly illustrated and being printed on heavily calendared paper the cuts are especially clear. Students will find valuable materials here. The museum is certainly making good use of its time and opportunities.

REPORTS FROM ANTHOPOLOGICAL DIVISION. By the Geological Survey of Canada, 1913. (Ottawa, 1914. Pp. 35.)

Sessional Paper No. 26 gives extracts from the geological reports which bear on or deal with anthropological subjects.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings, October, 1914. (Worcester, The Society, 1914. Pp. 459.)

BOGART, JOHN. The John Bogart Letters, 1776-1782, with notes. (New Brunswick, Rutgers College, 1914. Pp. 69.)

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DOW, CHARLES M. The State Reservation at Niagara; A history. (Albany, Lyon, 1914. Pp. 202.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees, 1913-1914. (Springfield, State Printers, n. d. Pp. 21.)

LAUFER, BERTHOLD. Chinese clay figures; Part 1, Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor. (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1914. Pp. 315, Pl. 72.)

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, Volume 7, 1913-14. (New Orleans, The Society, 1914. Pp. 194.)

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, January 25, 1913, to June 26, 1914. (Portland, Me. Smith and Sale, 1915. Pp. 49.)

MIAMI UNIVERSITY...The Samuel F. Covington Library of Ohio Valley History. (Oxford, Ohio, the University, 1914. Pp. 75.)

MISSOURI STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Seventh Biennial Report, 1913-1914. (Jefferson City, Hugh Stephens, 1915. Pp. 47.)

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. North Carolina Manual, 1915. (Raleigh, State Printers, 1915. Pp. 356.)

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Session. (Raleigh, Historical Commission, 1915. Pp. 150.)

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report, 1914. (Toronto, The Society. Pp. 138.)

PACIFIC COAST ASSOCIATION OF FIRE CHIEFS. Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Convention. Held at Victoria, B. C., September 1-4, 1914. Pp. 51.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Fifth Conference, Spokane, Washington, September 3-5, 1914. (Hood River, Oregon, Hood River News Company, 1915. Pp. 79.)

PARKER, DANIEL W. Guide to the documents in the Manuscript Room at the Public Archives of Canada. Volume 1. (Ottawa, Government, 1914. Pp. 318.)

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY. Yearbook, 1915. (New York, The Society, 1915. Pp. 272.)

REECE, ERNEST J. State Documents for Libraries. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1915. Pp. 163. Seventy-five cents.)

REED, SUSAN MARTHA. Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740. (Urbana, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, December, 1914. Pp. 208.)

WASHINGTON STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention, Olympia, January 18-22, 1915. (Tacoma, Charles Perry Taylor, Secretary, 1915. Pp. 146.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Two Remarkable Pioneers

The recent tragic death of Thomas W. Prosch has called forth sympathy and regrets from many sources, notably from two remarkable pioneers. He was helping each to keep alive their interest in the history of the long ago and to write their memories of those days. In this Quarterly, Volume V, Number 4 (October, 1914), page 321, there was printed an unsigned article by Mr. Prosch giving a brief sketch of Major Junius Thomas Turner of Washington, D. C., who was then in his eighty-eighth year. In this issue there appears a short article by Major Turner. In sending the manuscript, he said it was begun at the request of Mr. Prosch, whose death he mourned sincerely. As will be seen by reference to Major Turner's article, he has prepared "Memoirs" which are to be published after his death.

The other pioneer is General James C. Strong, of 268 Jayne Street, Oakland, California. He also mourned the death of Mr. Prosch, who had been trying in vain to aid the passage of a pension bill for General Strong in the last Congress. Unlike Major Turner, General Strong has already published his memoirs, a slender but very interesting volume on the cover of which appears: "Biographical Sketch of General James Clark Strong, Written by Himself."

Here may be found his experiences in Oregon before the creation of Washington Territory and then in that new Territory where he fought in the Indian War and held public office. Later he fought in the Civil War, where he received some wounds from which he is still suffering. Born on May 6, 1826, he is now in his ninetieth year, though his mind and memory are as clear as if he were but half that age.

For us in the State of Washington one of the most interesting items of his long and eventful career is the fact that he is probably the last survivor of the first Legislative session of Washington Territory. Within that fact there is a double tragedy seldom recalled in these later times.

The House Journal of that first session of 1854 shows on page 7 the name of Jehu Scudder as Representative from Pacific County. On page 11 it is shown that Representative Scudder was absent from the first day's session when the temporary organization of the House was being made. Still his name was kept on the standing committees, as shown on page 13. On March 2 official notice was taken of Mr. Scudder's death and the

next day suitable resolutions were adopted. The first Representative of Pacific County, therefore, did not live to take the oath of office.

The second tragedy is revealed on pages 81 and 83 of the Journal. On March 29 report was made that Henry Fiester had been elected and a committee of three escorted him forward to take the oath of office. On the next morning the reading of the journal was dispensed with and resolutions were at once adopted expressing sympathy for the death of Henry Fiester and arranging for the funeral. Thus the second Representative of Pacific County died before completing a single day of service.

On page 97, the record of the afternoon of April 14 shows that James C. Strong appeared as Representative from Pacific County and the oath of office was administered to him by the Secretary of the Territory. Mr. Strong served for the balance of the session and so far as known he is the very last survivor of either Council or House.

For the help of any who may be able to check the list for any other possible survivor the roster is here given:

Members of the Council:—Clarke County, Daniel F. Bradford, William H. Tappan; Island and Jefferson Counties, William T. Sayward; Lewis and Pacific Counties, Seth Catlin, Henry Miles; Pierce and King Counties, Lafayette Balch, George N. McConaha; Thurston County, Benjamin F. Yantis, Daniel R. Bigelow.

Members of the House of Representatives:—Clarke County, Andrew J. Bolon, John D. Biles, F. A. Chenoweth, Henry R. Crosbie, A. Lee Lewis; Island County, Samuel D. Howe; Jefferson County, Daniel F. Brownfield; King County, Arthur A. Denny; Lewis County, H. D. Huntington, John R. Jackson; Pacific County, James C. Strong; Pierce County, John M. Chapman, Henry C. Moseley, L. F. Thompson; Thurston County, Leonard D. Durgin, Calvin H. Hale, David Shelton, Ira Ward.

Several of those pioneers were alive when the Territory became a State in 1889, but only one of them, L. F. Thompson of Pierce County, had the honor of serving in both the first session of the Territorial and the first session of the State Legislatures.

Panama-Pacific Historical Congress

In San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, California, from July 19 to 23, there will be held the most important historical convention ever held on the Pacific Coast of America. The Congress will be participated in by three organizations—The American Historical Association, the American Asiatic Association and the Asiatic Institute. Elaborate prep-

arations have been made for the entertainment of the delegates from foreign countries and the participants in the programmes.

The topics to be discussed have to do with the Pacific Ocean and the countries bordering its shores. On the first morning the American-Asiatic Association will discuss the "Relations of China and the United States." The Asiatic Institute will discuss "Chinese History and the Relations of China with the Pacific Ocean," under the direction of Mr. Frederick McCormick, secretary of the Asiatic Institute. In the evening, Mr. Willard Straight, President of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute, will deliver an address on "Asiatic Interests in the Pacific Ocean."

On the morning of Tuesday, July 20, all three organizations will discuss "The Philippine Island and Their History as a Part of the History of the Pacific Ocean Area, Under Spain and the United States," under the direction of Professor David P. Barrows of the University of California, Director of Education in the Philippine Islands from 1903 to 1909. In the evening, Professor Henry Morse Stephens of the University of California, President of the American Historical Association, will deliver an address on "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean."

On July 21, the themes for discussion will be: "The Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska, in Their Relations with the Pacific Ocean," under the direction of Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. The afternoon session will deal with "Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean," under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. In the evening, Senor Don Rafael Altamira, Professor of American Institutions in the University of Madrid, Spain, will deliver an address on "Spain and the Pacific Ocean."

The sessions of July 22 will be held at the University of California, Berkeley. In the morning the theme will be "Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Settlement of California," under the direction of Professor Frderick J. Teggart of the University of California. In the afternoon, the California History Teachers' Association will discuss "The Teaching of History in Schools," under the direction of Professor William A. Morris of the University of California, and of Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University. In the evening, at San Francisco, Honorable John F. Davis, President of the Native Sons of the Golden West, will deliver an address on "The History of California."

The sessions of Friday, July 23, will be held at Stanford University, Palo Alto. The morning subject will be "Australasia and the Further East in Their Relations with the Pacific Ocean," under the direction of Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University. In the afternoon, un-

der the same direction, the theme will be "The History of Japan and Its Relations with the Pacific Ocean." In the evening, at San Francisco, Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, Secretary of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, will give an address on "The History of the Panama Canal and Its Significance in the History of the Pacific Ocean."

A Vancouver Memorial Tablet

The Marcus Whitman Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on June 4, 1915, unveiled a bronze memorial tablet at Everett. The simple but effective inscription includes these words: "On the beach near this spot Vancouver landed June 4, 1792." The granite boulder and bronze tablet thus mark the place where Vancouver landed and took possession of the land in the name of his king, George III of England, all in celebration of the king's birthday.

The celebration of the unveiling was elaborate and interesting. Choruses were sung by school children, addresses were made by Mayor Clay, Superintendent Frazier, Mrs. Angie Burt Bowden, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and others.

Notable Relay Courses in History

The Department of History in the University of California is taking advantage of the attractiveness of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The head of the Department is Professor Henry Morse Stephens, who is also President of the American Historical Association. His was the organizing spirit of the Historical Congress.

The Summer Session at the University of California, always attractive, is doubly so this year for historians, because of two great relay courses. History 102, American History, is begun by Professor Frederick J. Turner, formerly of Wisconsin, but now of Harvard. From June 21 to July 1 his lectures dealt with the "Study and Sources of the History of the Westward Movement in America." From July 6 to 15 the course will be conducted by Professor J. Franklin Jameson, Director of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington and Managing Editor of the American Historical Review. His theme will be "Development and Organization of Historical Studies in America." He will be followed by professor Max Farrand, formerly of Stanford, but now of Yale, who will discuss, July 19 to 28, "Political and Social Conditions in the United States One Hundred years Ago."

The other relay is called History 103, European History. It was opened by Professor Stephens himself who dealt with "The Rise of Nation-

ality in Europe" in lectures June 21 to July 1. He will be followed by Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard, July 6 to 15, on "The Normans in Europe." The third in this group is Professor George Lincoln Burr of Cornell, who will discuss, July 19 to 28, "Europe in the Middle Ages."

These leaders will hold conferences twice each week for graduate students. Besides these remarkably attractive courses, work is offered in Ancient, English and American History by Professors Herbert E. Bolton, Eugene I. McCormac, William A. Morris and Richard F. Scholz of the University of California Faculty.

Marking Yakima Historic Sites

The Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution are planning to place bronze tablets on basaltic columns to mark two historic sites in the Yakima Valley. One site is where Captain Wilder of Major Haller's command was killed by the Indians in 1855. The other is where Indian Agent A. J. Bolon was killed by the Indians in 1855. The latter incident was the spark that kindled the conflagration known as the Indian War of 1855.

The patriotic societies have had the aid of the scout and writer L. V. McWhorter in picking out the exact spots. The Indians who took part in the killing have all gone to the happy hunting grounds, but Mr. McWhorter got his information from the oldest Indians and is confident that it is correct. This worthy work is in line with similar plans in other parts of the State.

Flag Day Celebrations

Flag Day, June 14, was celebrated with unusual fervor this year. The principal address in Seattle was delivered by General Hazard Stevens of Olympia. He is a notable pioneer in his own right and he is especially interesting also because as a boy of thirteen be accompanied his father, Isaac I. Stevens, on treaty-making expeditions to the Indians in 1854 and 1855. The father was then serving as the first Governor of Washington Territory. Hazard was later a member of his father's staff in the Civil War and was severely wounded in the Battle of Chantilly where the father was killed.

Pioneer Association of the State of Washington

The most notable event at the annual meeting of the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington, in Seattle June 1 and 2, was the change in the Secretaryship. Edgar Bryan had served so faithfully for

more than a dozen years that he was expected to continue in the office for life. He rebelled, said he wanted some time to visit at the reunions and refused reelection. Thomas H. Cann was elected in his place. William M. Calhoun was reelected Treasurer. The old trustees were re-elected and James McCoombs was chosen on the board to succeed Mr. Cann. William H. Pumphrey was elected President and Edmond S. Meany, Vice President.

Samuel L. Crawford, the retiring President, being prevented by illness from attending the meeting, sent an address which was read for him and the Association sent a committee to his bedside with greetings.

The attendance was larger than usual and all enjoyed the addresses, music, and especially the hours of visiting at the reunion.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guade for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in college or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning credits toward a degree.]

XV. Pioneer Home Life

1. Freshness of the Study.
   a. Little found on this subject in books.
   b. Living witnesses still available.
2. Log Cabin Homes.
   a. Similar to those of the Pilgrim Fathers.
   b. Looked upon as temporary.
   c. Simple in structure.
   d. Open fireplaces.
   e. Doors furnished light and air.
3. Furniture.
   a. Bunks for beds.
   b. Benches and stools.
   c. Hinged tables to conserve room.
4. Dishes.
   a. Indian baskets and wooden bowls.
   b. Tin cups and plates.
   c. China rare.
5. Lights.
   a. Candles soon exhausted.
   b. Fish oil in cups.
   c. Rude lamps for fish oil.
6. Clothing.
   a. Buckskin.
   b. Deer-sinew for thread.

7. Food.
   a. Scarcity of flour.
   b. Clams.
   c. Venison and other game.
   d. Hudson's Bay Co. potatoes from the Indians.
8. Medicines.
   a. Plants used by the Indians.
   b. Indians' preference for white man's remedies.
9. First Schools.
   a. Usually conducted by the minister or his wife.
   b. Mrs. D. E. Blaine, first teacher in Seattle.
10. Neighbors.
   a. Dangers from Indians or accidents.
   b. Homes built close together.
   c. Efforts at daily communication.
11. Pioneer Children.
   a. Deprived of advantages of civilization.
   b. Indian playmates.
   c. Games.
      i. Slings for accuracy and distance.
      ii. Polished rods thrown at willow wreaths.
      iii. Bow and arrow contests.
   d. Trips to gather tender salmon-berry twigs.
12. Beginnings of Luxuries.
   a. Feather beds in place of cedar boughs.
   b. Glass for windows.
   c. Stoves.
   d. First sewing machines ("Little Giants").
   e. First religious services.
   f. First musical instruments.
   g. First dramatic entertainments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Strange is it may seem, there is not much printed material on this phase of Northwestern history. Like the history of the American Colonies and of other localities, the home life seems about the last to receive attention. Politics, transportation, commerce, wars, boundary disputes,—all interests in fact,—receive more consideration at the hands of early writers than do the intimate and vital affairs of the home. Some helpful references may be found in the following books:

APPLEGATE, JESSE. Recollections of My Boyhood. This little book of 99 pages was published by the Review Publishing Company in 1914. It ought to be placed in every library in the Pacific Northwest. Mr. Applegate was a pioneer of 1843. He tells his story very well. For the purposes of this syllabus, the last three chapters are especially useful.

DENNY, ARTHUR A. Pioneer Days on Puget Sound. The original edition is difficult to obtain, but the edition revised twenty years later (in 1908) by Mrs. Alice Harriman, is more accessible. The whole book is in point, but Chapter V applies most directly to the present study.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Chapter XXII of this book is entitled "The Pioneer Home and Village." That chapter is the result of much search for the materials that were omitted from most of the earlier writings. Living witnesses contributed the information as they may do still for those fortunate enough to make such studies in pioneer communities or near the homes of old settlers.

MEEKER, EZRA. Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound. The first twenty-six chapters of this book are more or less applicable to this study. In nearly every one of those chapters the author has something to say in an interesting way about home experiences. The balance of the book, devoted to Indian wars, is not so valuable.

STEVENS, HAZARD. Life of Isaac I. Stevens. By consulting the table of contents and index of this two-volume work the portions applicable may be traced. The books are a veritable storehouse of valuable history.

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THE STORY OF THE MERCER EXPEDITIONS

The two Mercer expeditions were without doubt important events in the history of the Puget Sound basin: First, they resulted in attracting to Washington Territory many who otherwise would not have sought homes on the Pacific Coast, and who in their turn were instrumental in bringing others to this north-northwest corner of our United States. And, second, by their means there appeared to dear old staid New England visions of a land of plenty on the shores of an American Mediterranean, a land of immense magnitude, in which vast forests stood patiently waiting for the ax of the woodsman and the saw of of the millman; a land of magnificent scenery and of delightful charm, with a salubrious climate and an atmosphere so charged with pure ozone that disease was rare and death was kept at bay; a land in whose waters at the very doorstep of the settler's cabin floundered innumerable salmon eager to swallow the bait of the fisherman, while millions of succulent clams, anxiously awaiting the coming of the digger, but slightly hid themselves in the sands along the seashore; a land teeming with wild flowers and wild berries; a land where a homestead or a donation claim might be had for the seeking by any man who cared to avail himself of Uncle Sam's generosity; in fact, to sum it all up in a few words—a land of wondrous beauty and of marvelous resources as yet scarcely touched by the hand of man.

Especially were the facts regarding this seeming Utopia so portrayed to the people of Lowell, Mass., one evening in the early spring of 1864 when Asa S. Mercer, of Seattle, addressed an assembly in Mechanics' Hall and pictured in glowing terms the wonderful financial advantage that would without doubt accrue to any and all young ladies who would leave their New England homes and migrate to Washington Territory. There, in the sparsely-settled towns along the water's edge, small fortunes might be made by those engaging in the vocations of school and music teaching, as salaries in those pursuits were large and the force of capable workers extremely limited.

Not a word was spoken concerning any matrimonial advantage; every appeal was to the pocket—and such appeal was well taken. The Civil War was in progress at this time. Business was stagnant and especially so in Lowell, with its forty thousand people depending principally upon the existence and general prosperity of the cotton mills for their own well-doing. During the war, of course, no raw cotton was forthcoming from the South, and in consequence the factories were shut down and hundreds of men and women were thrown out of employment.

As a result of Mr. Mercer's melliferous discourse ten well-educated and accomplished young ladies, ranging from fifteen to twenty-five years of age, concluded to embrace the golden opportunity presented to them. They belonged to some of the best and oldest families in the city, and made their decision only after the most careful and conscientious consideration, and with the full approval and co-operation of their parents and other relatives. Aside from the financial standpoint, adventure beckoned to them, and the appeal to their moral nature was also a strong factor in the case. What an influence for good might they not exert over the children committed to their charge in those far western wilds! And Hope whispered that after a few years of the ennobling work they would return to their loved homes laden with the fruits of their labor in the shape of real California gold. So with the conflicting emotions of joy and sorrow in their hearts, but with those selfsame hearts fired with ambition and enthusiasm, they left New York a few weeks later, bound for Washington Territory, *via* Panama and San Francisco.

After the qualms of seasickness were assuaged, the voyage proved of great interest and was a delightful revelation to the girls, born and bred in inland towns, although nothing occurred that would be particularly interesting to the readers of this narrative. Upon their arrival in San Francisco they were highly pleased with their first visit to a typical Western city; but their stay there was short, as they soon left for their destination. They came up in sailing vessels that were engaged in the coast-wise lumber trade. As there was only a monthly steamer sailing for the Sound, the barks, brigs and full-rigged ships that carried lumber from our mill ports to San Francisco were always willing to take a limited number of passengers on the return trip, and many travelers preferred to come that way. Two of the vessels that brought some of the Mercer party in 1864 were the bark *Torrent* and the brig *Tanner*.

Upon reaching Seattle the girls were given a most enthusiastic reception at a hall as an evidence of the extremely cordial welcome to their new home, the territory that by some of the Eastern friends had

been dubbed "the jumping-off place." Seattle housewives received them with open arms and vied with one another in entertaining the newscomers in their humble homes. And the men, well, they fain would have opened their arms also had they dared to do so. As it was there was "standing room only" at some of the windows. Strains of music from the two or three pianos in town were heard at all hours, and a general gayety prevailed. The guests of honor were happy and contented, although so many miles intervened between them and their beloved ones that a letter was six weeks by pony mail across the plains in reaching them. They remained in the hospitable little village until, by the aid of Mr. Mercer, they had all obtained schools and their labors had begun. But ever after they kept a warm spot in their hearts for the Seattle friends who had been so kind to them while yet they were "strangers in a strange land." The names of the travelers and their subsequent careers, so far as is known to the writer, are as follows:

The Misses Josie and Georgie Pearson, older sisters of the writer. The former was stricken with heart disease while on her way to school one afternoon in the following August and died immediately. She was teaching music and school near the site of the present Coupeville High School, on Whidby Island, one of the oldest settlements on the Sound.

Miss Georgie, the youngest member of the party, also taught on the island, at the Smith's Prairie School, four miles away, for one term, at the close of which time she was appointed assistant lightkeeper at Admiralty Head, where she remained until her marriage, over three years later, with Charles T. Terry, a pioneer of the early fifties. She died at her island home in 1881, leaving a family of five children.

Miss Sarah Cheney taught in Port Townsend, married Captain Charles Willoughby, and passed away a few years since.

Miss Sarah J. Gallagher became a school and music teacher in Seattle, afterwards marrying Thomas Russell, a pioneer. There was born to them a son, George, who is now one of Seattle's ex-postmasters. Mrs. Russell died several years ago.

Miss Antoinette Baker married Mr. Huntington, of Monticello, after teaching somewhere,[1] and moved with him to his home at Mnoticello.

Miss Aurelia Coffin taught for some time in Port Ludlow, and later became the bride of Mr. Hinckley, of that place.

Miss Lizzie Ordway took the school at Whidby Island which Miss Pearson's death had left vacant; later she taught for a protracted term at Port Madison. She died, unmarried, some time ago.

Miss Kate Stevens and Miss Kate Stickney, cousins, of Pepperell,

[1]Miss Baker was one of the first teachers in the Territorial University of Washington.

New Hampshire, near Lowell. The former married Henry Stevens, a customs inspector, and lived for a few years in Port Townsend. She afterwards moved to Victoria, B. C., where she resides at present. Of Miss Stickney's career the writer knows nothing.

Miss Ann Murphy was the only one who left after a short stay on the Sound. It is possible she remained in San Francisco when she arrived there.

Miss Annie Adams, of Boston, was aboard the steamer from New York, having been placed in charge of the captain, with the expectation of making San Francisco her home. Circumstances arose, however, which influenced her to continue her voyage up the coast. She subsequently married Robert Head, a printer, of Olympia.

Accompanying the party was Daniel Pearson, father of the young ladies first mentioned. He had been an overseer in the cotton mills before the war; at this time being out of employment and in poor health as well, he concluded to make the trip with his daughters. He brought with him as a business venture a small assortment of women's shoes, which he afterwards sold from house to house through the Black, White and Duwamish River valleys. After the death of his oldest daughter, Josie, he was appointed lightkeeper at Admiralty Head, on Whidby Island. Here he was so faithful that for thirteen years he was not absent for a single night from his post of duty. At the end of that time he retired from the service and bought a farm in the neighborhood. Mr. Pearson died in 1897, aged almost eighty years.

Scarcely a year had passed since the foregoing events took place when Mr. Mercer conceived a scheme for an expedition on a much larger scale than his former successful venture, and for an entirely different purpose, and in this story the writer will use the personal pronoun, as she was a little girl just past fifteen when she made the trip with her mother and older brother. With the aid of a diary, as well as a good memory, she writes the narrative.

His plan was to interest the government in his undertaking in view of the fact that he would endeavor to import, if the word may be so used, to the Northwest a goodly number of the numerous widows and orphans of the soldiers of the Civil War, for the express purpose of furnishing wives to the many unmarried men of that region. He hoped to induce Uncle Sam to provide him with a vessel in which to make the trip, and, incidentally, the passengers were to be charged a certain sum for the passage, which later might be collected from their happy husbands. Accordingly, he went up and down the states of New England and into Eastern New York and New Jersey to secure converts

to his scheme. He also interviewed Governor Boutelle, of Massachusetts, with a view to gaining his influence with the authorities at Washington, D. C. After many harrassing difficulties and dire perplexities of six months' duration he rounded up his party in New York City and set sail in the latter part of January, 1866, on the steamer *Continental*. This boat had been in recent use as a transport, had been bought by Ben Holladay, and by some arrangement was to make the trip around through the Straits of Magellan to San Francisco and carry Mr. Mercer's party of supposedly lone females.

But by this time Mr. Mercer's project had reached away beyond the limit of his resources and he had borrowed money right and left in order to meet the expense requisite to carry out his plans, so, when it was whispered from one member of the party to another at the New York hotel where we were gathered together that on the next morning bright and early all were to be in readiness to board the steamer, small wonder that it was also whispered that our leader thought of slipping away leaving a few of his bills unpaid.

Whether the conjecture was true or not I do not know. When the passengers went aboard the *Continental* they found chaos rampant. Evidently nothing had been done to the steamer since it was last used for transporting soldiers, except, possibly, a partial fumigation. No meal was forthcoming till evening, when the famished crowd sat down to a very limited supply of food; the writer, waiting for a semblance of manners, which it is needless to say was entirely lacking, secured by her mother's efforts a slice of bread and a minute piece of fried liver.

We steamed to Staten Island, where we anchored for a while, and where a pilot or tugboat came out to us from the city, bringing an old man who came on board, shouting wildly: "Where is Mercer? I want to see Mercer!" But Mr. Mercer was lying low in the coal bin and was not to be found; so the half-distracted man had to go back without interviewing him. We learned afterward the cause of his distress. It seems he had sold his only possession, a small farm down in Maine, at Mr. Mercer's advice, and had gone to New York City, or just across into Jersey, with his family, where he was waiting for the expedition to get under way. He knew nothing of the *Continental's* sailing until she had left the dock, and there he was, in the dead of winter, with his family to support and all his plans destroyed; small wonder he was so nearly crazed. He afterwards came to the Sound with his wife and children; one of the latter, a daughter, Nellie, married Captain Tom Stratton, of Port Townsnd, and for some years resided at Ediz Hook Lighthouse, near Port Angeles. A son, Frank Balch, lives at Port Gamble.

We soon settled down to live on shipboard, our principal hardship being in regard to our daily menu, if the coarse provisions doled out to us could be dignified by such a term; yet we did not complain of the quantity; it was the quality that jarred; and some idea may be formed of that when the fact is stated that fried salt beef was brought to the table, also tea steeped in salt water, and for seventeen days in succession the principal dish at dinner was beans only slightly parboiled. To add to our provocation, a mast, only, separated the common dining table from the captain's, which was loaded with all sorts of delicacies for the delectability of the officers. Mr. Mercer at first took his seat at the captain's table, but afterwards, considering the righteous indignation of the passengers, concluded "discretion was the better part of valor" and took his place with them at table, and ate, as best he could, the poor fare that was provided for them. Occasionally a passenger would so humble herself as to ask and gain permission to regale herself upon the remains of the captain's dinner, in company with the waiters. But such occasions were rare, for as a rule we were prompt at the table and at what was set before us in order to sustain life. Faces were long when the food question was discussed, but threats of complaint to the captain were met with the argument: "Hush, or you will incite mutiny!" So the complainants swallowed their indignation, albeit with a great struggle. One day a good New England housewife obtained leave to go into the galley and bake a sheet of gingerbread, and each one of her fellow-sufferers was given a small portion. Another generous soul had brought on board a can of strawberry preserve which she passed around that all might have a taste. It was surely a semmingly great hardship at the time, but the writer has often wondered if our rigid diet was not a blessing in disguise; certain it is that in our voyage of over three months' duration not one of the hundred passengers aboard was sick.

The vessel was nominally in command of Captain Windsor, a man of three score years, possessed of good features and form, but stern and forbidding; never was a smile seen upon his face; evidently his heart was ill-proportioned to his fine physique. Accompanying him were a meek-looking wife and a pretty little daughter of fifteen. But there was a "power behind the throne" in the shape of two bachelor women, the Misses Birmingham, sisters of the owner of the ship, and it was a commonly accepted idea that the master acted as per their instructions.

In a very short time after sailing an at-home feeling began to permeate the atmosphere. Our boat was like a small continent bounded on all sides by the ocean; and more, it was a mimic world, and events

of interest transpired. Two babies were born on the trip, one to a young English-Irish couple, while the mother of the other was a girlish-looking blind woman, who not only was an adept at bead work but played the piano as well. Fortunately, no deaths occurred save the drowning of one of the deck hands, and that incident was sad in the extreme. The man in some way had incurred the displeasure of the first mate, who paid his grudge by cutting almost in twain one of the ropes in a ladder in the rigging and then sending the sailor aloft for some purpose. The rope broke and the unfortunate man fell into the water. The cry of "Man overboard!" electrified every man, woman and child within hearing. Mr. Mercer, with wonderful presence of mind, snatched a life preserver at the stern and threw it as far as he could out into the sea; the engine stopped, then reversed, and a lifeboat was speedily lowered. It was manned principally by passengers, who rowed around for an hour or more in the choppy waves until darkness came on, when they reluctantly gave up the search and returned to the steamer, leaving the victim of "man's inhumanity to man" to find a grave in the bed of the Atlantic Ocean. The mate was afterwards placed in confinement, and the second mate was promoted to his place. When the first port was reached a new second mate was installed. But two other accidents, and those minor ones, occurred to mar our serenity: Two ladies, one a grey-haired dame of over sixty, fell downstairs and as a result they were confined to their rooms for a few days; that the elder lady was not seriously injured may be inferred when it is stated that she married soon after arriving at her destination.

Romance figured conspicuously in those days on shipboard and served to break the monotony both to the parties of the first part as well as to the parties of the second part—the on-lookers. There was with us a rough, grizzled California miner, and around him revolved, as regularly as the planets in their orbits, five unmarried females, who were known as "The Constellation." How the much-sought man escaped entanglement in the matrimonial mesh will never be known—possibly he made haste upon landing to lose himself in the foothills of California. The four engineers flirted outrageously, all unmindful of the spouse that each had left behind, and they seemed to have no trouble in finding kindred spirits willing to accept demonstrations of affection in public. On the other hand, one couple, engaged prior to coming aboard, were so circumspect that their betrothal was only half suspected. A newspaper correspondent, "Rod of the New York Times," who accompanied the expedition, paid open court to first one and then another of the fair sex, evidently with serious intentions each time, but the ardent wooer failed to make a permanent impression; his charmers

suffered his devotions for a brief season and then gave him the cold shoulder. Our leader, Mr. Mercer, also proved not invulnerable against Dan Cupid's darts; he succumbed immediately to the fascination of one of the most accomplished of our maidens, but she would none of him. So well did the sly young archer ply his trade that shortly after the end of the voyage four marriages took place, the contracting parties having first met after embarking on the boat, besides the one that had been planned before the trip. Mr. Mercer, who had formed a second attachment and had been so fortunate as to have his passion reciprocated, married Miss Annie Stephens, of Baltimore; David Webster was wedded to Miss Robinson; Miss Kenney became the bride of Samuel Tingley, and Miss Mollie Martin married Mr. Tallman, one of the employees on the steamer.

The number of persons on board was an even hundred, exclusive of officers and crew, the two new-born babes and four passengers for Rio de Janeiro. The passenger list complete, together with some information concerning different ones, will be found at the close of this article. The party consisted of five childless couples, six couples each with one son, two couples with two or three children, seven widows with offspring numbering from one to three, three unencumbered widows, one woman with two children coming to join her husband, thirty-six unmarried women, and fourteen single men. There were eighteen children between four and fifteen, and the pet of all on board was little "Elswie" Peterson, a golden-haired cherub of four years. He it was who, while at the hotel in San Francisco, for the first time seeing a Chinaman with dangling queue, ran and grabbed it, crying "Whoa! Whoa!" The Celestial turned, angry and indignant, but when he saw the laughing face of the sunny little fellow "playing horse" with him, his resentment vanished and he went smiling on his way. A general favorite, too, was a boy of Irish parentage, whose grandmother, in Boston, had placed him in Mr. Mercer's care. Courteous and manly at all times, he endeared himself to us all. Poor Mattie! He was cut off in the prime of life, leaving many friends to regret his untimely end; he had not an enemy except the demon drink, who destroys so many bright men. A toddler of one or two was greatly petted by the mate, a big, gruff Scotchman, as thereby he was reminded of a little son of his own in his far-away home.

As is always the case on a long sea voyage, the passengers became familiar with one another upon very short acquaintance, and as a matter of course the peculiarities of many soon became noticeable. Amongst others there was a grey-haired old man of about sixty-five who, in partnership with his fresh-looking, young English wife, was the possessor

of little twelve months' old "Jimmie Lincoln," of whom he was inordinately fond and proud, and whom he dandled incessantly, dancing with him from one end of the boat to the other, singing "Hi-daddy, Hi-daddy!" The wrinkled sire was soon known to all on board as "Hi-daddy;" in fact, I never heard him spoken of by any other name. Then there was the dyspeptic young lady who was given the appropriate appellation of "Spepsy." She it was who, while eating at the captain's table with the waiters, with whom she was no favorite, was mischievously handed the gravy, upon her request for the pudding sauce, and flooded the dessert with it.

There was also the dignified damsel who made the remark at the opening of the journey that she should "clothe herself in her reserve, throw herself back upon her dignity, and remain so." Events afterward transpired that caused some wonder as to whether her whilom prop had not suddenly given way. And we had, too, the exclusive maid who was convent-bred and whose mouth always had the "prunes and prisms" expression; she showed deep disdain with all her surroundings, finally chummed with the captain's daughter and ate at the table with the royal household. And two fond mammas there were who, as soon as seated at the dining table with one hand assiduously stirring their tea, while with the other thay invariably speared biscuit to be taken to their staterooms for the afternoon luncheon of their two growing boys. Last to be mentioned is the plain-spoken Miss S., who was locked in her room at the command of the ship's master; he, having become disgusted with the daily doings of his engineers, had ordered them to remain in their own quarters; the young woman aforesaid, while the captain was at dinner, drew a chalk mark across the deck by the saloon door, and wrote on it: "Officers not allowed aft." When the captain saw it, fire flashed from his eyes; the result has been foretold.

About a week before arriving in San Francisco we were passed by a liner *en route* from Panama to California; its passengers cheered us as they passed, but there were sad hearts amongst us and eyes grew moist at the thought of how much sooner than we they would step on the shores of our native land.

The last day of April our California miner pointed off to the left and said, "Yonder is the *Golden Gate!*" and to prove his statement a pilot boat soon appeared to guide us in; but our pompous captain did not need a pilot, so he came a half day up the coast before he found out his mistake and was forced to return and secure the services of a pilot after all.

The morning of May 1 we stepped on the dock at San Francisco;

and smiling and happy we were to tread on good American soil once more. We were taken to two hotels, and here the party separated. Nearly all, I suppose, started from New York with the intention of ultimately reaching Puget Sound; what inducements some of them found to remain in California I do not pretend to say. The men who came to the Sound did so with the intention of growing up with the country and amassing wealth in the course of time; perchance they did so. Some of the young women no doubt expected to secure schools, and did so. Others, I am sure now, came for the express purpose of finding homes and husbands, and did so also.

While we were at the hotel in San Francisco the two sons, Harrison and John, of the late Reverend George Whitworth, of Seattle, called upon us and we rejoiced to meet friends of our loved ones on the Sound. They were attending school at Berkeley at that time. We were also so fortunate as to gain the friendship of a certain Madame Dupres, a kind-hearted San Franciscan, who evidently took delight in showing us the sights of the city; notwithstanding her kindness, however, we were glad to be told, on the eve of the 8th instant that, in company with Mrs. Parker and Mr. Taylor, we were to start immediately on the brig *Sheet Anchor*, Captain Pike, on the last lap of our journey. We went aboard in the evening, and the old boat swung and bumped against the wharf with such monotonous regularity that we were seasick even while she was fast to the dock.

Our trip up to the Sound, although lengthy, was an exceedingly pleasant affair; the captain did all in his power to make us comfortable, and an accommodating steward and a good, clean cook were highly appreciated after our lack of service in that respect on the first of our voyage. And the smoothness with which we sped along was a revelation after the vibrations of the engine that had so jarred us during our long voyage. So, when two weeks out, we were informed that on account of head winds we were south of San Francisco, we were not so unhappy as we might have been. In another week we had reached Cape Flattery, where the strange sight of Indians in canoes greeted us; they swarmed around us with fish to sell, and the scantiness of their attire surprised us. We stopped briefly at Port Angeles, to clear, I suppose, and all night at Port Townsend, and June 1 landed at Admiralty Lighthouse, just one week over four months after leaving New York.

In conclusion I feel that I must pay a just tribute both to my dear mother and to the island of my adoption. Before we left Lowell, Mass., we were called upon by William Gilliam, an old pioneer of Seattle, who was visiting our section of the country. In the course of conversation he said: "Mrs. Pearson, you are going to live in the

garden spot of Washington Territory, and that is Whidby Island." That my mother later agreed with him after arriving on the island may be shown by the following remark which she made: "This place is so beautiful that I have only one step to take to get to Heaven!" She took the step twenty-five years ago, aged seventy-one years.

Those who came to the Sound were: Mr. John Wilson and wife, of Lowell (or Boston). Mr. Wilson lent Mr. Mercer considerable ready cash and took in payment a farm up White River, which was considered a poor equivalent at the time. Many years after it became valuable and was traded for considerable city property. This was lost, however, when hard times came on. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson are both dead. A son, John Henry, survives them and resides in Seattle.

Dr. Charles Barnard and wife, who went to Victoria.

Captain Charles Petteys and wife, and son Charlie. All three died a great while ago.

Mr. Perrigo and wife. They lived in Seattle a number of years. Mrs. Perrigo died and her husband moved to Pilchuck, marrying again. He died a short time ago.

Mr. Bogart, wife and son Charles. They lived in Seattle. Mr. Bogart died a few years ago.

Mr. Boardman, wife and new-born babe. They went to Utsalady.

Mr. Lewis Mercer and wife, who were cousins of Asa S. Mercer. They settled in or near Seattle.

Mr. A. A. Manning, wife and daughter Nina, and Mrs. Manning's son Edward and daughter Anne (Stevens), all of South Boston. Anne married Mr. Gowey, of Olympia, and went with him to Japan, where he died; she later married Rev. Johnson (or Thompson), of California, five years ago, and now resides in that state. Mr. and Mrs. Manning lived for some years in Olympia, where the former worked at his trade of shoemaking and his wife kept a private boarding house; both died many years ago. Nina Manning married Lewis Treen. Edward Stevens was a telegraph operator in and near Olympia for many years; he now lives in Seattle.

Mrs. Daniel Pearson, son D. O., and daughter Flora, all of Lowell, Mass. The latter, well known in early times as the assistant lightkeeper at Admiralty Head, ten years later married Mr. William B. Engle, a pioneer of 1852, and resided on a farm on the island till after her husband's death in 1907, when she changed her residence to rooms in the town of Coupeville, where she now lives. D. O. Pearson was a farmer on Whidby Island for several years; having married Miss Clara Stanwood, of Lowell; he afterward moved to Stanwood (so named in honor of his wife), where, in 1877, he opened a store that he has

personally conducted ever since. It is the oldest store on the Sound, and he is the oldest merchant.

Mrs. Lord, a widow, daughter Clara, and son James. She married Mr. Elder, of Olympia, where she made her home for some years. After her husband's death she moved to Tacoma, where she lived at the home of her son-in-law, Mr. Littlejohn, until her death a year or two ago. Her daughter, who taught school in Olympia before her marriage, is deceased; also the son.

Mrs. Grenold, a widow, and daughters Mary and Elvada. Mrs. Grenold married a man in the White River valley, as did also her older daughter, who became the wife of Frank McLellan, who is now living. The younger daughter lived in Portland for some time. The mother and Mary are both dead.

Mrs. Wakeman, a widow, her widowed mother, Mrs. Horton, and three sons, Melnor, Alfred and Tudor. Mrs. Wakeman married Mr. Washburn, of White River; her mother and three sons all married in that section of King County.

Mrs. Chase, a widow, son Eugene, and daughter Martha, all of Lowell. She came to Seattle, but afterward moved to California, where she became a Spiritualist lecturer. She spoke at different places on the Sound some years ago.

Mrs. Osborne, a widow, and son Eben. She married Frank Atkins, a well-known pioneer of Seattle, and lived there until her death very many years since. Eben S., who married a daughter of Ezra Meeker, is widely and favorably known amongst Seattle's citizens.

Mrs. Parker, a widow, and a sister of Hiram Burnett, one of Seattle's pioneers, married Mr. Burnell, survived him, and died some time ago at the residence of her brother.

Miss Robinson, who married Dave Webster, of Seattle.

Miss Anna Stephens and sister, of Baltimore. The former married Mr. Mercer. The younger sister, Mamie, was in Portland at last accounts.

Miss Harriet Stevens, called "Little Miss Stevens." She wrote an interesting account of the trip and sent it to the Portland (Maine) Transcript. She made a very short stay on the Sound, and went to Portland, Ore.

Miss Anna Peebles and sister Libbie, both of New York or New Jersey. The former married Amos Brown, of Seattle, and the latter, Angus Mackintosh, of the same place, where they are residing, both widows, at present writing.

Miss Sarah J. Davidson, of Lowell, who married D. K. Baxter, a Seattle tanner of early times. She is still living in Seattle.

Miss Berry, who married a Mr. Melson in Seattle.

Miss Stewart, who married Charlie Gassett, of Seattle.

Miss Kenney, who married Sam Tingley, a Skagit River farmer. She is deceased.

Miss Mary Jane Smith, who married, and is living in Portland.

Miss Mary Anne Griffin, who married Mr. Hartley, a farmer, now deceased, of Olympia. His wife traded the farm, after his death, for city real estate. She died recently, leaving considerable property.

Miss Annie Conner, who taught school in Olympia, where she married Mr. Hartsuck, of that place. After her husband's death she moved to Elma, where she now resides.

Miss Ida Barlow, who married Alf. Pinkham, of Seattle. She is now living in one of Seattle's suburbs.

Mr. Asa S. Mercer, whose address is unknown to the writer.

Mr. Hills, father-in-law of J. J. McGilvra, one of Seattle's most noted pioneer lawyers.

Mr. Lewis Treen, well known in business circles as a shoe dealer in Olympia in the late sixties, and later in Seattle, where he now lives. He married Miss Nina Manning, who died many years ago.

Mr. Dave Webster, who married Miss Robinson and lived in Seattle.

Matthew A. Kelly, who was an orphan boy from Boston. He studied pharmacy with Dr. Willard, a pioneer druggist of Olympia, and afterwards conducted a drug store of his own in Seattle. He married an Olympia girl. He died young.

Mr. Frank Reed, who for some years worked as gardener for H. L. Yesler when the latter lived at what is now known as Pioneer Place, in Seattle.

Mr. William Taylor, whose address is unknown to the writer.

Mr. Sam Tingley, who married Miss Kenney. He became a farmer on the Skagit River.

Those who remained in California were: Mr. Weeks, wife and babe; Mr. Rhodes, wife and babe; Mr. Stevenson, wife and new-born babe; Mr. Spalding and wife; Mr. Peterson, wife and three children; Mrs. Warren, a widow, and two sons; Mrs. Buckminster, a widow; Miss Julia Atkinson, Miss Bina Lawrence, Miss Florence Collins, Miss Mollie Martin, Miss Annie Miller, Miss Clara Huntoon, Miss Sarah Staples, Miss Julia Guthrie, the Misses Birmingham, Miss Agnes Weir, Mr. Roger Conant, a New York Times Reporter; Mr. Leonard Gifford, Mr. Wm. Watkins, a California miner; Messrs. Tom and Dick Lewis, brothers.

Coupeville, Washington. FLORA A. P. ENGLE.

PIONEER HOTEL KEEPERS OF PUGET SOUND*

In casting about for a subject for this occasion, it has occurred to me that some reminiscences of the pioneer hotel keepers of the Sound might not be altogether uninteresting, for they filled a very important place in our early history. It must not be forgotten that in the early days of what is now the State of Washington the sawmills on the Sound were the centers. There the logger sold his logs and bought his supplies; there the early ranchers took their products for sale, and purchased what they did not raise.

Naturally at the mill ports were practically all the stores and all travel was to and from, or between these places, so that the hotel men were known far and wide, and as each had his own individual peculiarities they furnished subjects of comment to a lot of men who had little to talk of and anecdotes of each one of them rapidly traversed the whole Puget Sound basin.

One can hardly realize today, with the Cities of Olympia, Tacoma, Seattle, Everett, Bellingham and Port Townsend, with the multiplicity of steamers, large and small, traversing all over the Sound, what it was in the early sixties when the settler in the eastern part of King County freighted his bacon and produce by canoe to Port Gamble, and carried back perhaps his year's supply of flour, sugar, coffee, boots and tobacco, being two or three weeks on the trip. A trip to Victoria was the height of ambition of every logger who found himself with spare money after his boom was sold.

As Port Discovery was a center for all the country west of that place, so was Utsalady a center for the Skagit and Stillaguamish River valleys and even further north. Each mill port had its agricultural country tributary to it as well as its timber lands, and so, as I said before, the hotel keepers were the men best known in the territory.

Starting down on the straits and coming in on the flood tide, the first hotel keeper met with was Old Bill Law, who kept a ginmill at Dungeness. As to his character I have no personal knowledge, but in the words of one who knew him, "It wasn't a really, truly hotel, but just a place to stop." One stranger who landed there from a canoe in 1861 inquired for the hotel and was directed to the one-story shack that stood on what was then known as "Whiskey Flat." On asking for the landlord he was answered by Old Bill Law himself, and on inquiry

*Address before the Kitsap County Pioneer Association by W. B. Seymore, President.

as to the possibility of getting dinner, Bill told him to go right in and help himself. He would find a side of bacon hanging on a nail, butcher knife on the table, with plenty of kindlings by the fireplace. "Just cook it to suit your taste and eat all you want." That the lodging furnished the occasional traveler was on a par with the cuisine goes without saying.

The first hotel of which the writer has personal knowledge was that at Port Discovery, kept by one of the characters of the Sound, Jack Pugh. The hotel was situated on the beach above the mill and at the foot of quite high land, which shut out the sun and made it very dark and damp. Of the house itself, it was some improvement on the one at Dungeness, for there was a cook and dining room and rooms upstairs that were used to sleep in, but of the proprietor himself a book could be written, and a mighty laughable one, too. In person Jack was a tall, heavily built Nova Scotian, with a very high-pitched, squeaky voice, which startled the stranger much as he would be by hearing an elephant squeak like a mouse. Rumor had it that Jack had deserted from the English navy at Esquimalt, but he was whole-souled in spite of his uncouthness. It is told of him that on one occasion he had sent a stranger up to one of the rooms for the night; in a short time he returned to the barroom with a complaint that the sheets and pillow slips were too dirty for anyone to sleep in. Jack was apparently amazed, for he explained to his guest "that more'n a hundred men had slept in that bed and no one had ever complained before." Complaints as to the conditions of the roller towels on the washroom porch was always met with the retort that the towels had been there for a month or more without any fault finding. The comical part of it lay in the point of the voice of this good-natured giant; it disarmed anger. Some of the remarks he would make when "sitting in" a poker game would have led to bloodshed if voice and man had corresponded. It is related of him that on a visit to Victoria, with his wife and little son, the little fellow became much interested in a monkey, the first he had ever seen. Enquiring of his father "who it was?" Jack replied "it was one of his cousins on his mother's side."

Coming next to Port Townsend, we find almost the first hotelkeeper there to be Harry Tibbals, who was later Sound pilot for the San Francisco steamships. He was succeeded by one J. J. Hunt, who for many years kept the old Cosmopolitan Hotel. This was the principal hotel of the place until about 1875, when the Central Hotel was built, which was conducted by William Dodd, better known as "Jersey." But for a good stiff game of poker, the Cosmopolitan was the best known house in all this section of the territory, some not en-

tirely bloodless. Being the port of entry, many seafaring men congregated there, and at times made the town lively in more senses than one.

The writer's only recollection of Port Ludlow was the killing of Jack Brun, the hotelkeeper, on Christmas Eve, 1863, when trying to quiet a drunken brawl. He was spoken of as a very quiet, inoffensive little German.

In our journey we would next stop at Port Gamble, where the Teekalet Hotel was kept by John Collins in the early days. Few need to be reminded that he was the same John Collins who ran the old wooden Occidental Hotel in Seattle for many years and became very widely known. But in those days the hotel had a strong competition in the second story of one of the company's buildings, as almost everyone who traveled in those days carried his blankets rolled up in an Indian mat, they naturally "camped" on the floor in this large room and felt more at home than in a bed at the hotel.

Going up Hood Canal some eighteen or twenty miles bring us to Seabeck and the hotel there, conducted by D. K. Howard, familiarly known as "Denny" Howard. A most genial host indeed was this same "Denny," but, Seabeck being off the ordinary line of travel, not as well known as some of the others. When the mill burned and the company decided not to rebuild, "Denny" was forced to leave, but among the Hood Canal people D. K. Howard has never been forgotten.

Before proceeding up the Sound, it will be well to notice the old mill at Utsalady, where the hotel was kept by Peter Djorup, who, according to local tradition, ran away from some vessel loading there in the early days and finally got into the hotel business. Peter was well known in that section. Much logging being done at Port Susan, the Stillaguamish and Skagit Valleys, the natural place of supply was the mill at Utsalady.

Back on the west side of the Sound again and we drop into the old mill town of Port Madison, long the county seat of Kitsap County, with genial Philip Wist as our host at the hotel. Who, having seen Philip a bit mellow, will ever forget his singing and dancing? The writer has spent many enjoyable evenings in the comfortable, homelike house.

And now we have at last reached Port Blakeley, best known of all the mill ports of Kitsap County. Either in 1873 or 1874 James Taylor built quite a large hotel about a half mile south of the mill, and had Thomas Jackson as a partner, to whom he sold out after a couple of years. This place was run for several years, but caught fire and burned to the ground. In 1875 or 1876 the mill company built the present hotel, which was rented and operated by James Taylor,

who had built the one before mentioned. A couple of years later D. J. Sackman bought in with Taylor, and after the death of the latter secured his interest from his estate and ran it until his death, in 1889. The Sackman estate sold the business to Malcom McDonald, who continued it until his death. But pioneer days had long passed, and these later deals are only mentioned because the writer was more familiar with the parties named than in other places on the Sound.

My recollections of the mill at Port Orchard, the site of which is now known as Enatai, are very meager, my only knowledge of the place being confined to the time I was engaged as one of the crew of the old ship "Helios" in helping to load her with lumber. However, the company got into difficulties at this time, and with the lower hold only partly filled, we shifted to Williamson's mill at Freeport, now West Seattle, to complete cargo. I am sorry now I did not jot down some of the Williamson reminiscences before he passed away, as they would have been invaluable in a paper of this character, but memory plays us tricks at times, which must be my excuse for not being able to say more at this time.

It is needless to mention the old Occidental Hotel at Seattle, run by John Collins, whom we have previously mentioned, but further south on Commercial Street was the New England, run by a man named Harman. It was not as large as the Occidental, but as the proprietor was married, with daughters well grown, it was a much more quiet place than the former and was well patronized.

One can hardly believe, when visiting Seattle now, how we used to wade through the sawdust from the head of Yesler's wharf up to the old Occidental Hotel, or, turning to the right, walk a two-plank sidewalk down Commercial Street to where the New England Hotel set up on a bit of a knoll with the beach on two sides within a biscuit toss.

The hotel at Tacoma, the mill town sometimes called "Old Tacoma," was built by a man named Steele, who came there from Cariboo with some means. But the one best known in business was Johnnie Filler, who ran the place for the widow after the death of Steele. Later he married the widow and carried on the business for a number of years. Johnnie came to the Sound from Australia and was a very genial little fellow and rather a favorite with his patrons, but he was a great billiard player, and many of them could not forgive him for trying to steer the cue ball with his cue after the stroke was made.

Perhaps the best known hotel to strangers was the one on the wharf at New Tacoma, for outside of the Halstead House, at the top of the grade, it was the only one in the place. The railroad depot

at that time was on the wharf, so that passengers got out at the hotel. Many people came in at this time from as far east as Chicago, attracted by the railroad real estate boom, and many of them had never seen salt water before. Dinner was always served at this hotel shortly after the arrival of the train, and it was customary to serve as a prelude to the regular dinner a half dozen steamed clams. It was not uncommon that a second helping was called for. The guest was always told he could have all he wanted, even to making a whole meal if he so desired.

At Olympia we find in the early days Landlord Galliger, of the New England Hotel; Henry Cock, of the old Pacific House, who was succeeded by E. T. Young, who changed the name to Young's Hotel. These were the prominent hotels in those days, but Aunt Becky Howard, a negress, was the favorite of all who hailed from south of the Mason and Dixon line and divided honors and cash in the sixties.

Any mention of Olympia would be incomplete without the name of Captain Doane and his celebrated Oyster House. While coming later than the others, he catered to a class of trade that made his name and fame known all over the state through the legislative assemblies.

W. B. SEYMORE.

THE MORMON ROAD

The trackless wilderness was an awful, impenetrable dread, which lay across the western horizon, during all the early years of our national life. A few intrepid explorers had gone into it, and brought back marvelous reports, but news was precious in those days, and over all the region of the Middle West that dread still hung. The story of Lewis and Clark, and that wonderful journey to the Pacific, was not generally accepted, and its full meaning understood. Up to 1830 the Mississippi River remained the border of a vast unknown, where wide, impassable deserts and still more impassable mountains of rock, were the homes of wild beasts and still wilder men.

But the general prosperity of the first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century, the increase of wealth and knowledge which gave birth to the era of internal improvements, and built the Erie Canal and the Cumberland road, was pressing for an outlet. That great reservoir of virtue and grit which had been so long gathering was about to break forth. That magnificent genius of the American people, which Horace Greeley so well typifies, was to express itself in a great Westward movement—in that unparalelled energy, in the undaunted heroism, in the unconquerable will, that overran and subdued the deserts and mountains of our vast Western domain; and within the space of little more than half a century has transformed its wild areas into peaceful, prosperous, progressive communities. It is this which has amazed the countries of the old world, and has given us our position of power among them.

So complete has been this work that the present generation, which rides across the continent in the sumptuous cars of the railroads, has no conception of what those first explorers did, or what that work was. So rapidly has it all taken place that there still remain, alive among us, a few whitened heads who were witnesses—who were among it and saw it all.

By the year 1840 the advancing tide of emigration had rolled on to the wide, muddy waters of the Missouri River. Not all the territory east of that had been occupied, but the advancing crests of the wave, wrought up by reports coming in from the Pacific—of temperate climes, of fertile fields, of wealth inexhaustible, bordered by deep rivers and the ocean which afforded highways to the markets of the world, was gathering its strength for that mad effort. At different points along the Missouri had the waves of this immigration gathered, to rest and,

in some degree, prepare itself for the supreme effort which they felt lay ahead.

The marvelous fact about the first four emigrations to Oregon is that they got there at all. There were no roads. There were only wandering trails made by fur traders to their few scattered posts, or paths of adventurers bent on exploration. There had been no surveys or routes or marking of directions, or maps of the country, that were of very much value. Colonel Bridger complained to Brigham Young, when they met at Green River, that the map of J. C. Fremont, of 1843, was incorrect and misleading. From the Missouri River to the Columbia, with the exception of the trading post of Fort Laramie, and possibly of Fort Hall, there were no relief stations—no aids to emigration westward. When it came to streams, it must plunge in; at narrow defiles, filled with rocks and fallen timber, it must drag itself through; at precipitous mountain ridges it must pull itself up and let itself down with ropes. And if any one became sick or fell by the way, he must be left to perish, or be borne along on the backs of others. And these first emigrations did not take the same way. Because of the greatness of the difficulties, or the weariness of those going, they were taking new ways and making cut-offs. It was yet a trackless wilderness, and only the distant Oregon beyond. For 900 miles along the wide, treacherous Platte and up the Sweetwater to South Pass, and then about 700 miles over mountains and streams, through forests and defiles, across the Green, and Big Sandy, and Black, and Bear, and Snake Rivers to the Columbia, there was only the wreckage—the remains of camps—the bones of animals and men, to mark the way of the onflowing crests of this emigration.

In 1831 Joseph Smith had gone west of the Missouri, at Independence, and set his stake; and in a very solemn service had consecrated the ground for a Mormon Zion. He had a special revelation, denoting that place as the future home of the Saints. Elder A. S. Gilbert had opened there a general store. And from there the "Evening and Morning Star" was issued till it was burned in 1833. The Mormons had obtained large tracts of land about Independence and along up the Missouri, and made considerable settlements. These were a great aid to the first emigrations as resting places and outfitting for the great journey before.

Whatever view we take of the great Mormon movement, we cannot fail to recognize the very important part it had in the settlement of the great West. It was essentially a "westward movement." It employed the strongest elements of our nature—the religious, the family, the patriotic and the home loving—and bound them together in a long con-

tinued, unwearied, supreme effort to find a place to establish themselves. And the material it had, both from our own peoples and from its accessions from foreign nations, was of the best for such a purpose. History must acknowledge that.

On the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, opposite the point where the northern line of Missouri would meet it, where the river makes a wide bend to the west, there was, in 1846, the Mormon city of Nauvoo. It was the largest city in the State of Illinois, twice the size of Chicago at that time. Colinel Thomas Kane, a brother of Dr. Kane, the Arctic explorer, who saw it at that time, says: "The city is of great dimensions, laid out in beautiful order; the streets are wide and cross each other at right angles; it rises on a gentle incline from the rolling Mississippi; at your side is the temple, the wonder of the world; round about and beneath you you may behold handsome stores, large mansions and fine cottages. Upon the noble Mississippi are numerous steamships, carrying the Mormons from all parts of the world to their homes." Joseph Smith himself describes the temple: "It is built of white limestone, wrought in a superior style; is 128 by 83 feet square, near 60 feet high." It was surmounted by a pyramidal tower, ascending by steps 170 feet from the ground. The Mormons having grown rich and powerful under persecutions, expended nearly a million dollars upon this edifice. It was two-storied. Conspicuous in the first was the great baptismal laver, resting on 12 full-sized oxen, with its noble ascent, all carved in marble. Besides the two main halls there were chambers, and all richly decorated with signs and mystic letters and insignia. The gilded angel of its lofty spire was visible from afar. This was a weather vane, and was afterward taken to Barnum's Museum, New York. Besides the large tracts of land on the east side of the river, the Mormons owned thousands of acres on the west side in the half-breed tract—part of the town of Keokuk, the whole of Nashville, and part of a settlement named Montrose. The troubles which had been growing up between the Gentiles and the Mormons had by the latter part of 1845 broken out into open warfare. Joseph Smith, the prophet, and his brother had been killed. After much effort Governor Ford had secured an armistice and a promise from the Mormons to move as "soon as water should run and grass grow in the spring." Accordingly, in January, 1846, a proclamation was issued by the elders announcing immediate removal. At that time there were 20,000 inhabitants in the City of Nauvoo, and by the middle of October of that year not a Mormon inhabitant remained.

The Iowa Journal of Politics and History for January, 1914, has a map of the road which the Mormons built across the state of

Iowa. The western half of the state, at that time, had no settlements. For nearly the entire distance, they made the road, and bridged the streams. And while it was soon abandoned, because it did not follow section lines, yet it was noted upon the surveys, which soon after took place. They also established at Gardan Grove, Mount Pisgah and Kanesville (now Council Bluffs) camps where crops were raised and resting places built for the weary emigrants who should follow. A ferry was made across the Missouri, nearly opposite Point aux Poules, where they gained a favorable crossing, by making a deep cut for the road through the steep right bank. And flat-bottomed scows were built. They then passed up the river to a point six miles north of the city of Omaha, where they set a stake, and built dwellings for the winter. This place, which they named Winter Quarters, is now called Florence. Says Colonel Kane: "On a pretty pleateau overlooking the river, they built more than 700 houses in a single town, neatly laid out, and fortified with breast-work, stockade, and blockhouses. It had, too, its 'Tabernacle of the Congregation,' and various large workshops, and mills and factories, run with water-power." The printing press was set up, and the "Millennial Star" was regularly issued. Preparations were made for the pioneer road-making expedition, that was to start out early in the spring. Winter Quarters became the Mormon rendezvous, and was not abandoned till 1853. To this place the pioneer expedition returned in October, 1847. Here that brilliant coup de etat was executed, by which the Mormon government was reorganized, and Brigham Young became the supreme head. From here was sent out by him that remarkable document,—the only revelation which Brigham has ever given, "As the Word and Will of the Lord." To the saints in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and adjacent islands and countries, saying,—"Emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity. Let all the saints who love God more than their own dear selves,—and none else are saints,—gather without delay to the place appointed, bringing their gold, their silver, their copper, their zinc, their tin, and brass and iron and choice steel and ivory and precious stones, etc., etc."

The number of Mormons in England and Scotland, in June, 1850, was 27,863. For two years before 1845, thirteen vessels, wholly engaged by Mormons, for the emigration of their people, quitted Liverpool for New Orleans. During the year 1850, the Mormon emigration from England amounted to 2,500. Messrs. Pilkington and Wilson, the shipping agents at Liverpool, wrote: "With regard to Mormon emigration, and the class of persons of which it is composed, they are generally farmers, and mechanics, with some few clerks and surgeons, etc., etc.

They are generally intelligent and well-behaved, and many of them are highly respectable."

When the Pioneer Company left Winter Quarters, early in April, 1847, it is plain that they had no definite objective point. Brigham Young, whenever he was asked, would reply evasively, "That the Lord would direct," or "They would know the place when they got there." There is conclusive evidence to show, that so far as they had any point, that was California. But where California was, how far towards the east it extended, or how they were to get there, they did not know. Before they left Nauvoo, Elder Jesse Little had been sent east with instructions, "If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace these facilities. * * * And in the event of the President's recommendation to build block-houses and stockade forts on the road to Oregon, becoming a law, we have encouragement of having that work to do, and under our peculiar circumstances, we can do it with less expense to the government than any other people." Elder Little reached Washington in May, 1846, and later went to New York and Philadelphia. At the latter place he met Col. Thomas Kane, who was a brother of Dr. Kane, the arctic explorer, and a prominent man, whom he interested in the matter. Colonel Kane went to Washington and received instructions from President Taylor, and immediately set out with Elder Little for St. Louis. They went together to General Kearney at Fort Leavenworth, and accompanied by Captain Allen went on to the Mormon headquarters. They reached Kanesville, in September, 1846. Here the famous Mormon Battalion was raised, consisting of 420 men. The men were enlisted for twelve months, were to receive $40.00 apiece bounty, and were to be mustered out on the Pacific coast, in California. They were paid $20,000 at Fort Leavenworth, that fall. There are two or three references in the "Times and Seasons" which show that they had some idea of Oregon, and even of Nootka Sound. A song, composed by Elder Taylor, and sung upon the westward march, was "The Upper California, O that's the land for me" and "along the great Pacific sea." Bancroft says: "There is no evidence that Brigham Young knew anything about Salt Lake, until he met Bridger sixty miles west of South Pass." It is a curious fact also, that at the meeting with Pegleg Smith, at South Pass, Brigham made an appointment to meet Smith two weeks later at Bear river, and go with him into the Boise country. Smith failed to keep his appointment.

Preparations had been going on at winter quarters all winter of 1846-47, and early in the spring the road-making expedition was ready to start. It consisted of one hundred and forty-three picked men, seventy-three wagons, and all the horses, oxen, plows and other tools which they

might need. A rawhide boat capable of carrying 1,800 pounds, two sextants and other surveying instruments which had come out from England, and other scientific instruments. Orson Pratt had constructed an odometer which would actually measure the distance. Orson Pratt, says Jules Remy, had considerable scientific attainment. He could calculate latitude and longitude, measure elevation by the barometer, and make analyses of mineral springs and ores.

Brigham Young himself took charge of and led this expedition. At the Elkhorn River they were obliged to leave the bridge unfinished, with "its seven great piers and abutments." They continued on the north side of the Platte, even after reaching Grand Island. For at this point the Oregon trail touched the river and went along the south side. But the Mormons wished to escape Gentile annoyance, and they also wished to make a road of their own. It is their oft-repeated saying that "they made the road, bridged the streams, and killed the snakes." Every ten miles Brigham himself set up a stake to mark the way. Two days before reaching Fort Laramie they came to an old post, probably Fort Platte. On June 1 they came to the north side of the Platte, opposite Fort Laramie.

Here they were 522 miles from winter quarters. Owing to a drought, they had found feed very scarce, and had been compelled to use feed they had brought. Brigham took the boat and crossed over to the fort, which was a small, rude trading post. Here, after consultation, they decided to transfer to the south side of the Platte. At Laramie they were joined by a company of Mormons from Pueblo, consisting of sick members of the battalion who had been left there, with others who had joined them there.

From Fort Laramie to the crossing of the North Platte, 124 miles, their route was, in general, along the Oregon trail. But Bancroft, quoting from manuscript, says: "There was no trail after leaving Laramie, going over the Black Hills, except very rarely. For a short distance before reaching the Sweetwater we saw a wagon track. It was a great surprise and a great curiosity." At the crossing of the Platte they built a ferryboat, and left ten men to maintain the ferry and assist subsequent emigrants. While here they were able to cross over a party bound for Oregon, by which they added considerably to their store of provisions. Passing up the Sweetwater, they came to Independence Rock and Devil's Gate, and on June 26 reached South Pass. So far their route had been over an open country, and they had found no very great difficulties. The incline to South Pass was so gradual that they scarcely knew the watershed when they reached it.

Here they met T. L. Smith, commonly known as Pegleg Smith, who

had been a companion of Jedediah Smith, a famous explorer. He so presented the charms of the Boise country to the Mormon party that they agreed to turn north with him to that region, which was prevented by Smith's failure to keep the appointment which he made. From here they followed Fremont's trail to Green River, where they met Elder Brannon and 140 of his party. The elder had sailed from New York in January of the previous year with 600 Mormons for California. There they had found a very inviting country, had begun settlements, and now had come on to meet Brigham Young and bring him on the way. A few days farther on they met, on the Black Fork, a portion of the Battalion. This Battalion had been disbanded in Upper California. A portion of them had re-enlisted, forming the Mormon company. The rest had sought work, and some of these were working for Captain Sutter when gold was first discovered. The Mormons claim they discovered gold in California. They certainly obtained considerable gold, some of which was used in the purchase of land at Salt Lake.

Sixty miles west of South Pass was the important meeting with Colonel Bridger, Miles Goodyear and five others, which evidently had much influence in determining the future course of the Mormons, for we find that in the spring of the following year they bought of Miles Goodyear, who held it by a Spanish grant, the whole of the Ogden River valley from the mountains to the shore of the great lake, which includes the site of the present City of Ogden. From there they went south to Bridger's Fort, and from there west to the Bear River.

Colonel Fremont gives a delightful description of this beautiful and fertile valley: "The valley is from three to four miles wide, and perfectly level. The extensive bottoms are covered with rich grass—the water is excellent, and the timber sufficient, affording a natural resting and recruiting station."

The difficulties, which had been increasing ever since they left South Pass, became very much greater from this place on. Here Brigham Young was taken sick, and had to be carried in Elder Wilford Woodruff's carriage. Elder Orson Pratt was sent ahead with twenty-three wagons and forty-three men to make the road. At Bear River they left the Oregon trail, and seem to have taken the Donner trail, which was made the year before, and which was plainer. This led down Echo Canon to a junction with the Webber, then up the Webber southerly twelve miles, then westerly into Parley's Park, then across the hills northerly to the head of Emigration Canon, and thence to the valley.

Portions of the way here were exceedingly difficult. They passed through narrow canons whose overhanging walls were from 800 to 1,200 feet high. They were compelled to follow the beds of streams filled

with boulders and logs. At times the timber was so dense that they could scarcely crawl through on their knees. Once, in the face of a steep, rocky hill, Elder Pratt turned back, but after much search he could find no better way. They could only make four and a half, six and six and a half miles on three successive days. They came out suddenly on an open plateau overlooking the valley. Says the church historian: "On the morning of the 24th of July, when Brigham Young and the body of the pioneers first got a glimpse of the Great Basin, there was a universal exclamation, 'The Land of promise, the Land of Promise—held in reserve by the hand of God for the resting place of his saints!' "

They had made a wagon road for 1,100 miles through the trackless wilderness. Colonel Thomas Kane, in his address in Philadelphia in 1852, said: "The Mormons have laid out for themselves a road through the Indian territory over 400 leagues in length, with substantial, well-built bridges, fit for the passage of heavy artillery, over all the streams, except a few great rivers where they have established permanent ferries." In the fall of that same year (1847) 566 wagons came over it, and in June of the following year 623 wagons, 175 horses and mules, and 1,529 oxen and cattle. And within the next three years over 20,000 people came over it to the Salt Lake Valley.

It is impossible to estimate how much the making of that Mormon road contributed to the settling of the West. It is a significant fact that, for a good part of its way, from Omaha to Salt Lake, the Union Pacific Railway runs over the route of the old Mormon road. It aided vastly the great rush to the gold mines of California that immediately followed its completion. It was a great aid to the emigrations to Oregon and Washington of subsequent years. It transformed the dry and barren waste of the Salt Lake Basin into one of the most fertile and beautiful regions of the whole country, and formed a much needed and convenient resting place for every one of the weary travelers who subsequently went to the Pacific Coast.

HIRAM F. WHITE.

JASON LEE: NEW EVIDENCE ON THE MISSIONARY AND COLONIZER

The council meeting of the Flatheads, far up along the headwaters of the Columbia River beyond the Rockies, sending for the light of life, occurred in the spring of 1832. It was at the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session in Baltimore at the same time, that legislation was written into the laws of the church enabling her men of evangelism to initiate such a movement as this unprecedented Flathead mission and the sending of Jason Lee. It was providential guidance soon to appear from the news of the deputation seeking the Book.

The life story of this original missionary among the Oregon tribes is being better known now in the light of his strategic influence in founding potential colonies.

The ancestry of Jason Lee was Puritan. When Thomas Hooker established Newtown, Cambridge, for the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1634, he included in his roster of fifty-four devout settlers one John Lee. This lover of liberty was the earliest American progenitor of our missionary colonizer. He was present at the founding of the City of Hartford, Connecticut, the following year, and later was one of eighty-five who purchased from the Indians a tract of land in the Connecticut Valley comprising one hundred and twenty-five square miles. For a century and a half his descendants shared in every colonial struggle, civil and religious, down to the war for independence. In the lineage of his youngest daughter, Tabitha, were the famous scout of Washington, Nathan Hale, and the illustrious minister, Edward Everett Hale. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Daniel Lee, the father of Jason, was living at Willington, and promptly responded as a Minute Man at the first alarm and Lexington. He served at the siege of Boston, and fought in the campaigns in the Jerseys and New York. The mother of Jason Lee, Sarah Whitaker, was also born in the wilderness of Connecticut. When she was a babe a great bear stalked into the cabin bent on mischief, but was intercepted by her father, unarmed, driven to the forest and shot. After fifteen years of pioneer home-making, the Lees removed to Ruthland, in the Green Mountain State, when but a regiment of people had settled there as on picket duty. In the exuberance of new-gotten liberty, with others seeking wider opportunities, they pushed still farther north into the dense uninhabitated forests at the east of Lake Memphremagog and began their permanent home on four hundred virgin acres. Here a family of fifteen children was raised, the youngest being christened Jason. Here

the father was converted when fifty years old, and after two years of pious living was called from pioneer privations to rest above. The devoted Methodist mother now proved the heroine in personal sacrifice, and with the aid of the unseen friend of the widow raised her brood with discretion.

Jason Lee was born June 28, 1803, the centennial of the birth of John Wesley. A discrepancy of a day has been frequently made, but this date is given in Lee's own journal. The exact day is memorable, and he who labored so providentially for experimental Christianity had a worthy advocate among the distant natives of Oregon. It was also the year of the purchase of Louisiana, and President Jefferson's advocacy of a continent-spanning expedition to spy out this River of the West before the British should gain control. In such a year, and when the churches were adopting the camp meeting for spirited conquest, our missionary colonizer was born.

The nationality of Jason Lee is in no sense in doubt from the foregoing facts and the long extending sequel of events. From the first American ancestor the family was Puritan, and his father was a fighting colonist, who later, 1818, became a United States pensioner. The boundary line had not been established at the time the settlement was begun on Lake Memphremagog, nor was it conclusively surveyed until 1842. The land was then a trackless forest but for Indian trails. The County of Stanstead was of later date, and upon the Lee homestead has come Rock Island, just north of the Canadian line, while Derbyline, the southern part of a continuous line, is in the United States. The colonial patriot, Daniel Lee, calculated well for his homestead and missed the future international line but a stone's throw. He, and all his house, were loyal Americans.

Meager educational opportunities were afforded all youths of those days, and Jason was soon struggling for independence of thought. He was "born again" at the age of twenty-three. After lumbering in the northern pineries, he returned home during a sweeping revival and turned to God with his associates. There was a call to minister in the transformation that came to Jason Lee that led him to seek opportunity to equip himself. In 1828 he entered old Wilbraham Academy. This was in the days of Wilbur Fisk, that marvelous leader of youth. By diligent study our zealous student soon became a recognized leader, and Dr. Fisk made him tutor of a class of seniors seeking instruction in the higher life. His most intimate friend at school was Osman C. Baker, who later became a bishop. Together they planned to dedicate their lives to missionary work. They talked of heathen lands, including the distant Oregon Indians. In after years his friend wrote this tribute: "Jason Lee was a large, athletic man, six feet and three inches in height,

with a fully developed frame and a constitution of iron. His piety was deep and uniform, and his life, in a very uncommon degree, pure and exemplary. In those days of extensive and powerful revivals of religion I used to observe with what confidence and satisfaction seekers of religion would place themselves under his instruction. They regarded him as a righteous man whose prayers availed much; and when there were indications that the Holy Spirit was moving on the heart of a sinner within the circle of his acquaintance, his warm Christian heart would incite him to constant labor until deliverance would be proclaimed to the captive."

Upon leaving Wilbraham he began teaching in the Stanstead Academy, but the call to evangelize savage tribes continued on his soul and he wrote his friend Baker, in March, 1831, as follows: "I have not forgotten the red men of the West, though I am not yet among them. O, that I had some one like yourself to go with me and help me in the arduous work, with whom I could hold sweet converse! Or could I be assured that I should, in a few years, embrace you in the wilds, and have you for a companion as long as the good Lord should have need of us in the forests, I could cheerfully forego all the pleasures I receive from the society of friends here, tear myself from the embrace of my nearest and dearest relatives, and go (as John before our Lord) and prepare the way before you. But I am building castles in the air. No! No! That I fear can never be. Not my will; but thine, O Lord, be done."

Presently he turned to the active ministry and preached in his native town and vicinity under the direction of the Wesleyan Church. But the call of the red men was upon his soul, and he offered himself as missionary to the tribes in Western Canada. He had taken the Book of Heaven to their tepees about and caught the passion of their awakening spirits. He had honored his Redeemer in many a logging camp, and while piloting rafts down the streams to Montreal and with school and camp and tepee he had come to know the universal heart in its outreach for the Word of Eternal Life. He felt the woe of neglect and sought to redeem the time. Richard Watson was then secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of London, and, dying suddenly in 1833, left the application of Jason Lee still pending. During the disorganized condition that followed and the distance and uncertainty, a call came from another source. This call of God, as voiced by Wilbur Fisk for a new-formed mission, was promptly heeded. The New England Conference met that spring, and Lee was admitted into membership, being ordained both deacon and elder, and then appointed missionary to the Flathead Indians.

A militant church will not loiter, nor can its commissioned officers tarry for a convenient day. Speedy preparations were made, and in mid-

summer he bid adieu to his home friends. On a fly leaf of his precious diary he wrote: "Left Stanstead, L. C., August 9, 1833." His last sermon at Old Stanstead before reporting for his long expedition was at the home of a neighbor, whose ample kitchen was more commodious than the village schoolhouse. This eventful story has never been written, and it was a rare providence that recently brought together the writer and the now aged daughter of that old-time Baptist deacon who made his house the sanctuary. She was a young girl then, the schoolmate of the children of half a dozen Lee families. Her impressions remained keen of how the model of the neighborhood appeared, and she spoke readily of that far away and prophetic day. She saw that night the hero of the occasion, silhouetted on the kitchen wall from the glow of the ample fireplace. She remembered well how tall and strong he appeared, how thin and rustic, not handsome, but of rugged features, Lincoln-like, erect and with open countenance, bright blue eyes and light complexion. His comrades knew him as their champion, and in possession of superior vigor and a digestion that could subsist on any diet. A sweetheart was there and weeping, but as she soon turned to another, our aged informant declared her unworthy of one turning to such a sacrificial mission. He spoke like an educated man, with clear voice, without notes, in forceful argument, and with no trace of the common clerical cant with its high nasal tones. She recalled the text and the gist of the sermon as he told of Peter preaching in the house of Cornelius; saying of each: "He did not have to wait for the people; the people were waiting for him." While he yet spoke "the Holy Spirit fell on all who heard the word."

As companion in travel and labor a nephew, Daniel Lee, was selected. He had traveled two years in the New Hampshire Conference. Together they held meetings in the interest of the Flathead Mission, and aroused enthusiasm and generosity. On the 16th of October they met the directors in New York to make their final preparations. An appropriation of $3,000.00 was soon made for the mission equipment, and the Lees began to set their faces resolutely toward the setting sun, the Book in hand, to usher in a brighter dawn. A farewell service took place in Forsythe Street Church on the 20th of November. Dr. Bangs delivered a thrilling address, as did also Dr. McAuley, of the American board.

But now encouragement set in from another source. Men who dreamed of fur and farm greatness in the mystic land of the far away Western river were stirring up Boston merchants. Hall J. Kelley, the Yankee enthusiast, took up the missionary note to enforce his slogan of trade, and published the call and need of immediate action by church and government. Also Captain Wyeth had just returned from his venture of 1832 and was already publishing his intentions to equip a larger com-

pany to depart overland for Oregon the following spring. Jason Lee sought him at his Cambridge home, and with the advice of the board arranged to accompany the expedition. Captain Wyeth had brought two native sons from the Far West, one a half breed of fourteen years, and the other an Indian youth of twenty. In old Broomfield Church was held a spectacular meeting when Wyeth and his Indians took part. Lee spoke of his yearning hopes, and Dr. Fisk preached an enthusiastic Macedonian sermon. Churches that had grown drowsy on the call of the red men were now awakened and arose to liberal giving. Various men of affairs loaned their influence, and the federal government gave its protective passports and patronage. The heralds of the Word were fully convinced the Holy Spirit would lead them to the far away land of his spirit worshippers. The church, with prayerful eyes and a promise of adequate support, watched the outgoing of her first missionary colonizers.

Still other testimony came in to confirm the decision to go to the Flatheads. One of the best men of the original Wyeth party, John Ball, had just returned to the states with fine first-hand knowledge. He had tarried at Fort Vancouver when his comrades left and taught the children of the Hudson Bay Company and the half-breeds. In the spring of 1833 he went up the Willamette Valley and planted some wheat a little above Camp de Sable. It yielded bountifully, and was the first American grown harvest in the vast Oregon country. His enthusiastic letters were published extensively. This was the year the penny paper was begun in America. Many graphic accounts of the Oregon opportunity for settlers and the need of missionaries were given wide circulation and augmented the cause of the expedition for beaver skins and native souls.

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When our missionary heroes set themselves to the task of casting gospel seed into Oregon soil, a vast domain lay before them. They had traversed the longest width of the continent, and assisted in blazing the trail for more than half the distance. Through all this virgin missionary field our heralds of the Word were found in counsel with the red men and prayer to the Great Chief that guidance might be given in selecting the precise site of the Flathead Mission. Now that the continent had been traversed and many tribes interviewed, a final decision must be made. The seriousness of this decision was upon our mission leader, as is shown from an entry in his diary: "Could I know the identical spot the Lord designs for it, be it even a thousand miles in the interior, it would be a matter of rejoicing. O, my God, direct us to the place where we may best glorify thee, and be most useful to these degraded red men."

The missionaries must have felt that their King's business required haste. They had rested but two nights from their long journey when

they began to reconnoiter the surrounding country, and on the 19th of September, 1834, dropped down the river in a boat provided them. Daniel Lee states in "Ten Years in Oregon:" "Dr. McLoughlin kindly furnished two men to go with us, and horses to ride, and a good supply of provisions for the whole trip, which would employ us several days." A few days were spent surveying the possible sites in the vicinity of the junction of the Willamette and the Columbia, making their headquarters on the May Dacre, which lay near the newly established trading fort of Captain Wyeth. They went up the "west channel of the Willamette, and after that up a creek, arriving at a farm owned by Thomas McKay, our friend of the mountains." The fatigue of this task cannot be realized by those who do not know the dense underbrush, the tremendous forests and the water courses of the Lower Columbia region. They obtained more horses here, passed on through Tualatin Plain and, after three days, were well up the Willamette Valley. They "swam" their horses to the east bank of the river and were at French Prairie, where about a dozen families of the retired French Canadians of the Hudson Bay Company had settled in a lucrative wheat industry. "They seemed prosperous and happy, and gave us a polite and generous welcome to the best they could set before us. One night Mr. Gervais set up our tent in his garden, among melons and cucumbers. It reminded one of the Scripture: 'A lodge in a garden of cucumbers.'" (D. Lee, p. 125.) He also states that "a location was chosen to commence our commission," and that they turned back over the sixty miles to the supplies for the mission. This locality was destined to play a unique role in the days of beginnings in Oregon. Then in three more days, September 25, they dropped down to the famous falls where Oregon City soon came into being, and on Saturday, two days later, the boats returned to the fort. We will find that inspiration did not follow the fortunes of the fur industry, but the servants of Him who cared most for the return of his lost flocks in the Pacific Northwest. Jason Lee did not retire that night before recording his convictions: "After mature deliberation on the subject of a location of our mission, and earnest prayer for divine guidance, I have nearly concluded to go to the Willamette."

The following day was Sabbath, whose sanctuary privileges had been so strangely denied the missionaries. Now they were to spend a quiet day in the fort. While the charter of the company provided for religious exercises, and the chief factor himself conducted the ritualistic services of his established home church, no Gospel sermon had as yet been preached on the western side of the great stone mountains. It had come to Jason Lee to be the first to give the word of exhortantion at Fort Hall, and there to read the funeral service over the remains of an unfortunate

employee of Captain McKay. Now on Sunday, September 28, he accepted an invitation to preach in the hall of the company. This he did, both morning and evening, to a motley audience. The message was heard by English, Scotch, Irish, French, Canadians, half-breeds, Indians and Japanese, though "some did not understand two words of English." The journal of Jason Lee contains: "Am thankful that I have been permitted to plead the cause of God on this side of the big mountains, where the banners of Christ were never before unfurled. Great God, grant that it may not be in vain, but may some fruit appear even from this feeble attempt to labor for Thee." With the task upon him of deciding the site of his mission, he closed the day in prayer: "My Father in Heaven, I give myself to Thee; may I ever be Thine and wholly Thine, always directed by Thine unerring counsel and ever so directed as to be most beneficial in the world and bring most glory to the most High, that I may at last be presented without spot and blameless before the Throne."

With the dawn of the next day Jason Lee heard the Voice saying: "This is the way." Inspiration rested up the Valley of the Willamette. He had taken counsel from many traders and trappers and the chieftain leaders of the Walla Wallas and various other Flathead tribes, and also Dr. McLoughlin. It may always remain a matter of conjecture to what extent any or all of these witnesses augmented or affected the guidance of Him who sits uppermost in the counsels of the nations. Lee wisely kept his own counsel, welcomed advice from every source, and now turned southward. We are not inclined to emphasize the knowledge the Americans possessed regarding this undisputed soil, and therefore a safe protection for them, or the strength of the advice of Dr. McLoughlin. The written statement found after the death of this great man merits a place more for its corroboration of the divinity that was to shape the destiny of Oregon than for its own determinative value.

Perhaps the astute doctor knew the natives better than all others, except possibly one man. This was the Indian agent at Saint Louis, General William Clark, whose fame was wide for his insight into Indian nature. Those who urge the influence of the former may well be reminded of the judgment of the latter. From a letter written by a resident of Saint Louis who knew Mr. Clark and heard his sentiments, we learn that the old Indian agent urged that the Methodist Church be authorized to undertake the mission to the far-away Indians owing to the aggressive spirit of that denomination and the heroic conduct of its preachers whom he had known. Many ill-advised conjectures have given rise to erroneous published statements as to why the "Mission to the Flatheads" was not established among them, but taken far beyond. To the foregoing may be added the understanding of Secretary Bangs, of the

Missionary Society. He states in his history: "On arriving at the country of the Flatheads, about which so much had been said and written, they found them to be few in number, and these few of such a migratory character that they concluded it best to select some other place as the center of missionary operations."

Consequently we do not share the pathos of a bishop who imagined the heavy hearts of the missionaries as they passed beyond the inland home of the Flatheads and trudged on to the coast country where the brig May Dacre was to be found with their provisions and equippage, and then to undertake the impossible return to Waiiletpu with this luggage. Nor do we share his thought that the dread of this labor made it easier to decide for the more westerly valley. We give our missionary colonizers the credit of meaning what they wrote in their journals on the way; we must keep in mind the ignorance of the vast field, unknown even to the government; and also bear in mind that the end of their transcontinental journey was the anchoring place of the May Dacre, no matter where they should subsequently set up their mission. No watch had been set in all the Pacific West, and the first missionary was set to the task of establishing his mission in the most providential place. Had he been one of four to divide the territory he could have been content to go to any quarter, but he had the great Head of the Church to obey, and all subsequent events attest the unerring wisdom of His guidance.

On the 29th day of September the missionaries set out for Vancouver, with horses in exchange for those left at Walla Walla, and cattle, eight oxen and ten cows. Men from the fort were provided to drive the cattle and to transport the supplies. On the following day the cargo was transferred from the May Dacre, and the boats started up the Willamette with Jason Lee and Walker accompanying, while Daniel Lee and Edwards set out with the horses. The end of the long journey came October 6, shortly before nightfall. They alighted and built a camp fire and rested, awaiting the sun rising of a new day of hope to the Indians and to the vast West. The hardships of the journey were passed, but the toil of the founding of the mission colony must begin without delay, as the rainy season was approaching.

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Three years had now passed in laying the first foundations and testing out the elements with which to build a Christian civilization among a degraded and fading Indian race. The workmen had been weighed and found wanting; wanting not in zeal or efficiency, but in numbers and equipment for so vast a task. Every council that had been called to study the needs of the mission and the signs of the times was invariably concluded with the urgent necessity that one return to awaken the East to

the night-time of the fading race and to show the opportunity to begin a mightly commonwealth under the ensign of the cross. There had been such rapid changes in the Willamette Valley among the Indians, the fur gatherers and the venturesome settlers that a general unrest had begun, together with the certainty that ere long nations would strive for its ownership. After fervent prayers and serious planning, it was decided that Jason Lee himself must hasten eastward and champion the cause among the churches and assure legislators regarding the value of the great basin of the Columbia. One who many years ago caught the import of those days said: "There was in all minds a clear conviction that some great forward movement of civilization to occupy Oregon was in the thoughts and on the tongues of statesmen and diplomats. Great nations were awakening to the greatness of the land beyond the mountains. The few God-commissioned men who had led the advance of civilization and religion into the wilderness were feeling stirring within them that prophecy with which God touches the souls of his agents when He has for them mighty preparations for mighty events which His providence half conceals, half discloses." (H. K. Hines, "Missionary History.")

It was in the morning of March 25, 1838, when Jason Lee bid adieu to the mission family and resolutely set his face to retrace the weary way. He was accompanied by P. L. Edwards, whose time of service at the mission had expired; a Mr. Ewing, and two native boys from the school by the names of W. M. Brooks and Thomas Adams.

Dropping down the river fifty miles to the fort, they saluted Dr. McLoughlin in the manner of the times, and then rowed up the Columbia to The Dalles, where Perkins and Daniel Lee had begun the station at old Wascopam. This venture was inspected, and on Sunday Jason Lee preached in the Chinook jargon that he had mastered since passing there on his westward journey. The Klickitats and the Nez Perces present had the message interpreted in their own dialects.

In two days the journey was resumed on horseback for the second lap of 150 miles, reaching Fort Walla Walla on the 13th of April. The Indian horses were sent back to their Dalles owners, and necessary mountain outfitting was begun. The next day he went over to the Whitman Mission at Wauletpu and gladly spent several days there in counsel and encouragement. It was the first meeting of these missionary leaders. Lee preached on Sunday, with Dr. Whitman as interpreter. In a letter to her parents, Mrs. Whitman told of an old chief, Umtippe, who had been seeking the Bible account of Heaven. He could not live much longer, and he was convicted for his many sins. He was converted under this sermon so that she wrote: "Never can a person manifest a greater change. That selfish, wicked, cunning and troublesome old chief,

now so still and quiet, so attentive to the truth, and grateful for favors now given! Surely naught but the Spirit of God has done this."

Lee was so zealous for the common missionary cause that he visited Spaulding's station, over one hundred miles out of his way, and prevailed on Dr. Whitman to allow his associate to go to The Dalles and assist in erecting the building just begun there. The two formative years of these eastward stations were incorporated in Lee's message. While the most meagre accounts are preserved in family letters, it is highly probable that the memorial being taken to Congress was a subject of serious conference, together with the matters of the mission which they held with common concern. The best possible equipment was provided for this journey, yet meagre. Mrs. Whitman made two firkins of butter, one for Lee and one for McKay.

The Snake River was reached above old Fort Boise, when camp was had over Sunday, June 3. Here Lee preached in both English and French, and baptized Donald, a son of Thomas McKay. The escort of this weathered Westerner was a boon to the missionary. But when orders were given to break camp on the following Sunday and begin the next long stretch, Lee resolutely resisted. He showed how as good time had been made in six days' travel for the week, and that the excuse for beginning on Sunday was a paltry one; not sufficient to justify the wanton wounding of the feelings of friends, and most certainly could never suffice at the bar of God. In those days it was no easy task to teach mountain traders the moral code, not to speak of the Bible commands. But while Lee was later talking with God about the unholy desecration of His day of rest, the order rang out upon the air "Not to move camp."

They passed through Fort Hall, which the missionaries had helped Captain Wyeth construct four years before, and on the 28th of June came to Bear River. This was Lee's thirty-fifth birthday, and another occasion for his characteristic self-examination. On the following day Captain McKay entrusted his three sons to Lee to take to the states for their education. The past four years they had been much together, each highly regarding the other; one a hunter of furs, and the other of souls. The herald of the Book had frequently called at the McKay ranch, on the west bank of the Willamette near its mouth. From here at Bear River the hunters were to turn south.

The smaller company turned resolutely eastward, expecting to find the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain traders on Horse Creek. But in this they were sorely disappointed. It had shifted to the Po Po Agio, two hundred miles further on. Lee's companions were afraid of that rugged way and thought to turn back, but the sacred mission of their

captain prompted him to continue alone if forsaken. Their heroism returned, and together the climb was begun that brought all safely over the continental crest into the Wind River region. They found the rendezvous on the 8th of July on an island in the Po Po Agio, a mountain stream that flows into the North Fork of the Yellowstone. This was a noteworthy gathering, the last assemblage of the American and independent traders. Here were found nine missionaries of the American Board, "going to reinforce the small band on the banks of the Columbia." There were four women and five men, among them being W. H. Gray.

The hand of God was here disclosed, as had repeatedly occurred at times of forboding shadows. The outgoing helpers of Whitman were refreshed by those returning, themselves comforted. "They joined in the prayer meeting here in the mountains, more than a thousand miles from church or congregation of worshippers."

Two weary months of plodding over the trail of his former westward way brought Lee, greatly fatigued, on the 1st of September, to the Shawnee Indian Mission, in Western Missouri. Here he sought rest and would confer with those who had given him good advice when first he inspected this successful school. He had come to the post nearest the Oregon stations at the western gate of civilization, and now lay down to rest. But at midnight he was awakened by a weather-worn messenger bearing the cruel word of the death of his wife and a two-day-old son. Were it our purpose to seek sympathy for this missionary colonizer, rather than to cite the simple annals of his achievements, we would tarry here to rend the hearts of those who seldom step aside to weep with those who, in martyr patience, wrought out the destinies of the lands of the sunset glow.

The messenger of this sad hour has often been in dispute. Gustavus Hines asserted that Dr. McLoughlin hastened out the express that carried the word. But this messenger went only to the other river fort of the company, Walla Walla. In Gray's History is found this statement, that must be relied upon: "Spaulding's Indian messenger delivered the package to Gray, at Fort Hall. Gray employed Richardson (a young man he had engaged as guide and hunter for the party on starting from Westport, Missouri), to take the letters and deliver them to Lee, for which he was to receive $150." So it appears that the stricken mission family hastened the word to Dr. McLoughlin, who passed it on up the Columbia to Fort Walla Walla, then a mission Indian sped on to Fort Hall, and now Richardson, the missionary's friend of the plains, brought him at hush of night the soul-saddening message.

The incredible time of but sixty days elapsed in hastening this message from Oregon to Missouri It was essentially the first overland ex-

press or mail service on the Oregon trail. Two days had been taken for rest and necessary changes at Waiilaptu and at Fort Hall. Jason Lee paid the guide his money agreed upon by others. What a sad errand, but freighted with a rare subsequent development in rapid transit.

The broken-hearted missionary remained a few days for sympathy. Then leaving his mission in the love of Christ, and committing himself to the comfort of the Spirit, he resolutely turned to complete that continent-spanning journey. Upon reaching Saint Louis it was learned that the Illinois conference of the church was in session at Alton, in the adjoining county. Not stopping to relate his strange story in that old romance-laden French post, more wierd than trappers could tell, the gospel story of the Indian missions, he hastened to the seat of the conference with his five wards. Their presence was as an apparition and heavenly presence as Lee recounted the deeds and hopes of the mission among the so-called Flatheads. To these truly heroic Western ministers Jason Lee stood forth that day a noble messenger and willing martyr.

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Sailing unsteadily up the river, with an unskilled pilot, the Lausanne cast anchor off Fort Vancouver June 1, 1840. More than half a year had been spent in bringing the mission family to their new home, and as the great reinforcement was transferred to the entrancing shores of the Columbia there arose a universal prayer of gratitude to Him whose they were and whose providence had brought them safely to the distant haven of their soul's desire. Shelter was awaiting all at the fort, with the courteous hospitality of the genial chief factor. Several days were occupied in unloading the cargo and storing the mission outfits and numerous equipments. In a few days a conference must be called and assignments made that would separate them to the several fields of labor.

Another assembly had just taken place on the Atlantic Coast. This was that memorable general conference that met when the good missionary ship anchored from her long voyage. Before the members of one were returning home, the others were walking the shores of the Western river. The two were one in their passion for souls. The reading of the Episcopal address had been delayed owing to the sickness of Bishop Joshus Souls, who read it. The last great subject discussed was missions, and contained the following rare utterances: "The character which the Oregon mission has recently assumed is well calculated to invite your particular attention to that extensive and important field of missionary enterprise. We can have little doubt that, with the blessing of God attending our efforts, the time will arrive when the interests of the missionary colony, and the success of the work among the aboriginal tribes, will call for the organization of an annual conference in that vast territory. And our

grand object should be to preserve one harmonious compast in the unity of the Spirit and the bonds of peace, and that Methodism may be one on either side of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, and on all the islands of the sea."

These sentiments were delightfully patriotic, and were graciously acceded to by the British delegate from the mother Wesleyan Conference. When we bear in mind the tense strife of the nations over the ownership of Oregon, it is refreshing to know that a great church showed herself superior to any bounds but those of humanity's need of Christ. The reply of the conference to the scholarly fraternal address contained the following world vision of His Kingdom: "Missionary zeal, founded in love, is the vital pulse of Methodism, the purity and fruitfulness of which, in its home department, depend on the active sympathy there with the work beyond. Methodism, indeed, might not so much as exist in a narrower parish than the world, nor act on any other than her own gospel principle of equal duty to all tongues and kindreds. Actuated by this principle, we have labored to carry the gospel into every part of our great country; and now into Texas, the Territory of Oregon, South America, and Africa, at the entrance of Liberia, on the Western Coast—we long for the salvation of God to become universal."

After reading numerous references to the territory of Oregon, as the above, in the deliberations of both church and political assemblages, it does not seem that the East was neglecting to save the Pacific Northwest to herself. At the time a few gospel heralds were striving to awaken the degraded Indians of the Lower Columbia to receive the spirit mark of Christ on their flattened foreheads, the leaders of the church were arousing the East with their passion for Oregon.

JOHN MARTIN CANSE.

Bellingham, Washington.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833

Introduction

For this second installment of the Nisqually Journal of 1833, I have little to add to the introduction prepared for the first installment. One matter should be spoken of and that is the fact that where gaps occur or where entries have become obliterated or blurred we have been able to adjust the record by reference to the private journal of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie. This has been done in foot-notes so as to keep the Journal true to itself. CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

(Continued from the Quarterly for July, 1915, page 197.)

OCTOBER 1833

[Tuesda]y 1 Work proceeding as yesterday—covering of house completed—Pierre Charles complaining much of pain in ankle joint of injured foot

Wednesday 2 All the men occupied in squaring logs except P. Charles who has today by my advice refrained from working. Since Sunday have daily bartered a few Otter & small beaver skins principally for Red Baize which is now almost done Duffle is eagerly sought after, but the price of four beaver per Fathom is considered as too high

Thursday 3—Having since Sunday received almost daily reports from the Indians at the beach that an attack upon us is mediated by a party of Klalums headed by the son of the chief who was slain by Mr. McLeod's[52] war Party the men were this afternoon employed in erecting a line of pickets which extends from the farther side of the door case of their house to the N. E. corner of store tomorrow another row will be set up in front reaching from the farther win[dow] of the people's house to the S. W. cor[ner] of of store & like the first leaving a p[assage] about 6 feet in breadth. This out [ ] ring the door & windows of both houses by enabling us better to withstand an attack [is other]wise in some degree a security against [the pet]ty depradations of the Indians living [hereabouts] who take every opportunity of pilfering; [they have] stolen a large axe

Friday 4 Men today occupied as yesterday afternoon The Indians have

[52] A source account of this event was published in the Washington Historical Quarterly, Volume 1, No. 2, under the caption: Earliest Expeditions Against Puget Sound Indians, by Frank Ermatinger.

for some time past been bringing accounts of the arrival of American vessels in the Sound[53] with a view to bring about a reduction of the Tariff. Failing in this aim they have probably fabricated the report mentioned in yesterday's journal in order to intimidate us & to their own consequence, as Challicoom my informant offered to remain here with his people as a protector—'Tis said the Klalums have taken umbrage at the rise of Tariff which they term "robbing the Indians of one beaver". 'Shall, if anything transpires [Page 24, October, 1833.—Interpolation by Huggins.] to corroborate the rumour immediately write to Mr. Heron.[54]

Saturday 5—A Scadchet chief arrived, but has not produced any beaver as yet—One man employed with the oxen in hauling the squared logs, the others have finished the erection of pickets

[Sund]ay 6 Nothing particular

[Mond]ay 7 Two men have been squaring couples, one with the oxen hauling logs & the rest in adjusting the sole & posts of house which is to be 55 feet by 20 & the walls 12 feet high

[Tuesday] 8 All the men except one occupied in laying the sole & fitting the posts therein—The squared wood amounting to 200 pieces each 10 feet long has now been carried home, a band of Scadchet appeared in the evening

Wednesday 9 Only two beaver bartered by the Scadchet hunter, but the rest of his stock is left with one of the Indians below, who say they are all to trade on the arrival of goods

Thursday 10 A Klalum chief arrived this evening he declared as false the charge made against his tribe of evil intentions towards us—All the men engaged in fitting the logs of house

October 1833 [page 25—interpolation by Huggins]

Friday 11—The Klalum only bartered his small skins

Saturday 12—Men engaged as on Thursday

Sunday 13 A few Thunaook[55] arrived today

Monday 14 Work resumed as on Saturday

Tuesday 15—The Indians who for the last [s]ix weeks have been living

53It is interesting to note the early use of the word Sound as a generic term for all these northwest waters. Captain George Vancouver in 1792 designated these waters by five names, viz., Strait of Juan de Fuca, Canal de Arro, Gulf of Georgia, Admiralty Inlet, and Puget Sound, but at the present time all save two, Puget Sound and Strait of Juan de Fuca, have ceased to be terms of popular parlance. Only the United States Coast and Geodedic Survey charts officially recognize them. Nor is the term Strait of Juan de Fuca safe from ultimate extinction. In 1859 no less a person than Governor Douglas spoke of Vancouver Island as being in Puget Sound, and in a recent decision of the superior court of Clallam County, Judge Ralston held that for the purposes of the fishing laws, the Strait of Juan de Fuca was a part of Puget Sound.

54Mr. Heron left Nisqually House for Fort Vancouver on Sept. 23, and returns Nov. 13.

55The Twana which occupied the country on both side of Hood Canal.

at the be[ac]h are now beginning to move off to [their] respective habitations for the pur[pose] of laying in a stock of salmon for [the win]ter
Wednesday 16—The men have this evening [finis]hed the erection of the walls of [the house] The Sannahomish Watsk [ ] has come with a few skins [but with the ex]ception of a single blanket [duffle] is the only woolen on hand.
Thursday 17 The "Frenchman"[56] traded all [his] [beaver] skins and has taken a small quantity of duffle
Friday 18 The work of yesterday & today has been the fitting of roof plate & couples and is now completed
Saturday 19—Ellacoom the Claaset who visi[ted] us early in August with a party and accompanied by several Klalum chiefs arrived this morning and seemed much disappointed at finding us so destitute of goods. He has purchased a common gun for a small sea otter & five beaver

October 1833 [page 26—interpolation by Huggins]

Sunday 20 A good many small beaver & otters bartered by our visitors who are anxious to return home. This afternoon a violent gale from the westward laid prostrate the line of pickets in front of store which fortunately however fell outwards & no damage has been sustained by either of the houses—The men set to work immediately to deepen the trench
M[on]day 21 Some duffle disposed of this morning to Ellacoom—The Klalums have parted with very few of their large beaver & grumbled much at the change of tariff, but did not in the least manifest a hostile disposition. Both parties left us in the forenoon carrying away from 60 to 80 beaver, all of which could have been bartered, had there been any variety of goods—men all day occupied in setting up the pickets
[Tues]day 22. A few undersized beavers traded by the Soquamish, who have all decamped this afternoon—Men occupied in squaring logs for the partitions of house
Wednesday 23. Clay well adapted for the construction of chimnies having been yesterday discovered a short distance from the house two men employed in preparing wheels for a waggon in which the earth can be carried home by the oxen. One man getting home the logs the rest occupied about the house

October 1833 [page 27—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 24—P. Charles preparing the doors the others building the partitions of house except two men who are still occupied with the waggon
Friday 25—Work proceeding as yesterday, waggon finished

[56]Tolmie's description of this Indian is excellent: "There is also a Skalatchet chief who discoursing in European style and sporting bushy whiskers is styled 'The Frenchman.' It is discovered by accident tonight that he understood the Spokane language, which his wife speaks."—Journal of William Fraser Tolmie, July 3, 1833.

Saturday 26—Two men employed in building a haystack overturned by the gale [on] Sunday—The others except P. C. about house [busy] in laying the sleepers & closing [in the] roof at each end with boards

Sunday 27. The large canoe which has [. .] repeatedly stolen was today found in the Seguallitch Creek[57] [. .] whence it cannot be remo[ved with]out much labor

Monday 28—Three men assisted by Indians have removed a haystack from the marsh to a dry spot in its vicinity the others have been working at the house as on Saturday

Tuesday 29—The weather being favorable we today felled several of the large pines growing in the immediate vicinity of the establishment which could not at a future period be so conveniently cut down & if overthrown by a storm might be productive of serious damage to us

October 1833 [page 28—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 30—Men employed as yesterday. A few Thuanook arrived with beaver but have not traded.

Thursday 31 The progress of the house being retarded for the present, owing to the want of boards for the roof and flooring, two men commenced arranging the pickets on the ground & three have been forming a cart road to the beach

November 1833

[Frida]y 1 According to custom this has been observed as a holiday[58]

[Satur]day 2—There being a sufficiency of sound boards for that purpose, the roofing of the portion of house intended for Mr. Heron's apartment has employed three men, the other three have been arranging the pickets

Sunday 3

Monday 4—A chimney begun in Mr. Heron's apartment which has received a temporary flooring, one man procuring clay two engaged as yesterday with the pickets

Tuesday 5. Work proceeding as yesterday

Wednesday 6—Mr. Heron's room lined with mats & otherwise prepared for his reception

November 1833 [page 28—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 7—People occupied as yesterday

Friday 8 Chimney finished. three men have been cutting pickets. The others doing sundry jobs about the house

Saturday 9—Four men cutting pickets—Two preparing furniture for Mr. Heron's room

[57] In Journal of William Fraser Tolmie, Oct. 26, 1833, Tolmie writes: "....Afterwards rambled through the marsh along the banks of the Sequallitch (the Indian name for the Coe)." The present name is Sequalli-chew Creek.

[58] All Saints Day.

Sunday 10
Monday 11—Work resumed as on Saturday except that one man was employed in g[etting] home the pickets—This evening an [Indian] brought a note from Mr. Heron [dated] Cowlitz Portage 9th currt. Mr. [H. wants] a canoe to meet him at the Chute.
Tuesday 12—From the purport of Mr. [Heron's no]te, the immediate arrival of the Cadboro' may be expected; four men were therefore set to work at the road begun on the 31st Ult. The large canoe manned by Indians dispatched to the Chute this morning
Wednesday 13 Work proceeding as yesterday Mr. Hernon arrived about sunset accompanied by Ouvrie & six men. Several of the Portage Indians have appeared, also some Soquamish, Sannahomish & Scadchet traders.

November 1833 [page 30—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 14—Men have been arranging & boring the pickets. Those who arrived yesterday have not worked
Friday 15—All the men have been employed at the pickets—Indians congregating from various parts, but they have not visited the trading shop
Saturday 16—Work proceeding as yesterday Wm. Brown confined with an attack of Intermittent Fever, which has hung about him since his leaving Vancouver
Sunday 17[59]
Monday 18—Upwards of 60 skins traded, chiefly from the Scadchet & Sannahomish Work resumed as upon Saturday In consequence of an Indian report that the Cadboro' was wrecked off Cape Flattery, Ouvrie was sent off in that direction to ascertain the correctness of the rumour
Tuesday 19—Tonight the arranging and boring of the pickets finished.
Wednesday 20—The trench in which the pickets are to be placed, was begun this morning—a party of Sinnamish appeared with a few beaver

November 1833 [page 31—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 21. Men at work as yesterday except two who have been smoke drying the salmon sent from Fort Langley which were becoming mouldy
Friday 22—Five men working at the trench the others have been erecting the pickets except one who has had charge of the salmon the which were tonight replaced in the store

[59]Tolmie in his Journal makes the following entry: "Today has been by no means so well spent as last Sunday. The whole forenoon was spent in examining the furs and the tools which have been in use and of which several are not forthcoming. Since Monday worldly affairs have more exclusively occupied my attention to the neglect of the more important affairs which concern my salvation, greater exertions on my own part and humble prayers to the Almighty for assistance are necessary and may God grant that I may not be a castaway."

Saturday 23—Some Tekatat[60] Indians arrived work continued as yesterday

Sunday 24

Monday 25—Ouvrie returned early this [mor]ning having proceeded as far as the [Kla]lum village near Point Discovery without hearing of the Cadboro' so that [Indian report] of the 18th must be groundless—About the breakfast hour two men from Vancouver arrived, for the purpose of procuring from the Cadboro Mr. Ogden's private letters, that gentleman having very lately returned to headquarters

Tuesday 26—Some Thuanook arrived with furs.

Wednesday 27 Very few beaver produced by the Thuanook & these they were loth to trade—Ouvrie and the Vancouver men sent to procure the letters for Mr. Ogden from the Cadboro', which, if indian report is to be trusted, cannot be far distant

November 1833 [page 32—interpolation by Huggins]

Thursday 28—Men still engaged with the pickets today there is scarcely an indian to be seen about the premises.

Friday 29—Tonight the erection of pickets has been completed—Ouvrie has returned but brings no intelligence of the Schooner

Saturday 30—One man preparing the pitsaw[61]; two digging a saw pit & the others filling up the trench in which the pickets stand

December 1833

Sunday 1[62]

[Monday] 2—Three men preparing saw pit one setting the saw—The others preparing pickets which are to be erected within the Fort

Tuesday 3—Two men have commenced sawing boards for the Gate, which is to be plaecd in the S. W. row of pickets—three in putting up a row of pickets extending from the corner of Store to that of peoples' house in front—two repairing boat & the rest sawing & boring pickets.

Wednesday 4—One man squaring wood for saw pit & two have been sawing—a row of pickets erected from each corner of peoples house to W. extending to pickets—this enables them to exclude the Indians—another row connects the S. E. corner of store with the pickets behind thus, there

December 1833 [page 33—interpolation by Huggins]

is a small court formed between the ends of the people's house & store, where the Indians can remain while waiting their turn to trade, without

[60]The identity of these Indians has not been established. They could hardly be the Klikitat, for on December 10 Tolmie uses this term as we know it today. Possibly they may be the Indians who lived near what is now Port Gamble at Teekalet.

[61]Probably the first saw-mill on Puget Sound.

[62]In his Journal for this date Tolmie writes of a tumorous growth which has manifested itself upon his body and which is causing him much uneasiness.

being able (if it is so wished) either to enter the main or inner court, or enter the people's house

Thursday 5. P. Charles with 4 men dispatched in the boat to Fort Langley for a supply of goods & provisions; the Cadboro' coming being despaired of—He was instructed to return if he met the vessel & he [returned] tonight accompanied by some [Indians] who say that the vessel is approaching and not far distant One man shar[pening] pitsaw 3 repairing bags & making [ ] & the others preparing boat in the forenoon.[63]

Friday 6—Boat manned by five men dispatched this mg. to ascertain the correctness of the indian report of yesterday—Men employed in levelling the yard which some days ago was ploughed & harrowed in clearing away the rubbish in the small court & that [. .] without the pickets—

Saturday 7—Work proceeding as yesterday & in addition all the doors have been made within & the small gate by which the indians enter to trade. Boards have not yet been prepared for the large gate

Sunday 8—The men returned today having met the vessel near Whidbey's island—She has been delayed hitherto by foul winds & is still beating December 1833 [page 34—interpolation by Huggins] against a contrary breeze—I have received instructions from Mr. McLoughlin to proceed in the Cadboro' to [Milbank Sound]

Monday 9—The weather being still unfavorable for the vessel P. Charles was sent along with four men to bring up a boat's cargo of the goods for this place he was also furnished with a line to the Captain requesting that the long boat be freighted, so all further delay may be avoided.

[Tue]sday 10—Pitsaw at work; one man squaring logs for saw pit, one making stools & the others still clearing away the rubbish, &c much trouble having been of late occasioned by the two stallions frequent wanderings they have been castrated by a Klikatat Indian.

Wednesday 11 The boats arrived this morning [late] & the people were employed till nearly midday in carrying up the goods from beach. The Vancr. men dispatched with Mr Ogden's private letters. The boat is to set out tomorrow for the remainder of the cargo for this place. Tomorrow I am to join the Cadboro' in obedience to Mr McLoughlin's instructions

William Fraser Tolmie.

[63]The manuscript at this place is badly damaged and for this reason Tolmie's entry in his Journal for that date is here reproduced in full: "P. Charles and party dispatched this forenoon to Ft. Langley for a supply of goods, and provisions we have dispaired of the Cadboro's coming. Pierre however returned about 8 p. m. having been informed by a party of Nooselalum that the vessel was in the Sound, in the Soquamish country not far from Challicoom's summer residence. They said she had lost a mast. This intelligence proved exceedingly welcome to us and I am to start in the boat tomorrow morning to meet the schooner and receive my letters."

December 1833 [page 35]

Thursday 12th[64] Sent our boat with five men to the Cadboro' for the remainder of our goods by which conveyance Doctor Tolmie went on board with his baggage to proceed to his destination at Fort McLoughlin. The men at the place employed at various necessary jobs—Fine clear weather.—
Friday 13th This morning our boat returned from the Cadboro' with the remainder of our things, part of which got slightly wet owing to the roughness of the sea—
Having examined and stowed everything in its proper place, I equipped I. B.? Ouvrie with some trading goods, tools, & provisions and sent him off about noon with part of the same in a canoe, assisted by Indians, to break ground at Whidbeys Island with three men, in hopes that a reinforcement would soon cast up as promised from Fort Vancouver, for the purpose of commencing a new establishment there to answer for Fort Langley and this place—And there being no Indians on this ground I thought it might probably be the best opportunity I would have of taking a run to Fort Langley to see how affairs were going on there; and I wished likewise to set our people agoing on Whidbeys Island on my way thither —I therefore—I therefore took five men, with most of the things for

December 1833 [page 36]

Whidbey's Island, in our boat, and started late in the evening with the tide. We had not however gone far till, as night set in, we were overtaken by a gale of wind—We however after several fruitless attempts at length got safe ashore where we remained till next morning—the weather was still boisterous on the 14th, but being anxious to know how Ouvre had fared in the gale of the preceding night, and knowing he was not ahead, I put back in search of him—We continued the search until within a few miles of the fort when apprehending that we must either have missed him or that some misfortune had befallen him, I landed the cargo in consequence of our still shipping heavy seas and with one man remained in charge of it. The rest of the people in the light boat, then returned in search of Ouvre.—That day and the following night having passed and the boat not returning I took my passage to the fort in an Indian canoe early in the morning of the 15th to learn whether anything had been beard of Ouvre, as well as to see how things were going on; but to my great surprise I found on my return that I had been sadly deceived in regard to Pierre Charles whom I left in charge and who was the only man I had whom I could at all think of entrusting the place to. In short

December 1833 [page 37]

(without entering into particulars) I found things in such a bad state that

[64]The Journal is now kept by Mr. Heron.

I could not, from a sense of duty, or any degree or propriety, think of leaving the place any longer in his charge and having no fitter person I determined on relinquishing my intended voyage to Fort Langley until I had a competent person to leave in my stead—and as it would, perhaps, be useless (from the example I had of P. Charles' conduct) to trust only common men with the selection of the site of a new establishment I also thought it (all things considered) most advisable to give over my intentions in regard to beginjing the fort at Whidbey's Island until myself or some other gentleman would head the party that might be sent for that purpose—I therefore sent off a man in a small canoe with an Indian to order our people back with all the things—

Monday 16th This morning the people sent in search of Ouvré, whom they yesterday overtook safe & brought back, returned with all the property in the boat, which was once more safely lodged in the store without having received much damage, nothing having been injured except a few bags of corn, notwithstanding the rough sea we encountered. Ouvré learned that the Cadboro' proceeded on her voyage early on Saturday morning—

December [page 38]

Tuesday 17th Set all hands to work to put a part of the dwelling house in some kind of habitable order for the winter—The weather continues boisterous—

Wednesday 18th The men employed as yesterday—Weather somewhat more settled—Only some chance straggling Indians make their appearance, and these bring but little to trade

Thursday 19th The men employed as above—Weather also the same—

Friday 20th—As above

Saturday 21st The men employed as during the foregoing part of the week—Some Indians from down the Sound, arrived with a few beaver to trade, but are still much disinclined to give two for a blank—Weather frosty—

Sunday 22nd Cold frosty weather—Several Indian families came in as usual to get some religious instruction—I began to give them some instruction soon after my arrival which they treated with much indifference but I have at length succeeded in altering their savage natures so far, that they not only listen with attention to what I tell them but actually practice it—

December [page 39]

Monday 23rd Set all hands to work to collect firewood—A few Indians arrived but brought only two beaver to trade. Weather very cold—froze intensely all night and thawed none during the day.

Tuesday 24th The men employed as yesterday—Nothing done in the way of trade—Weather still frosty—

Wednesday 25th—This being Christmas day I gave the men a liberal Regale of eatables and drinkables to make up in some measure for the bad living they have had all year here, and they enjoyed the feast as might be expected men would do who lived solely on soup since they came here. Weather still very cold—

Thursday 26th The men were allowed to rest from their labors, today as they are rather fagged after yesterday's indulgence—A hurricane or whirlwind passed and broke down the largest trees is its way like straws—

Friday 27th—Set all hands to work to square oak wood for making two Bastions of 12 sqr. each either for this place or Whidbey's Island, as they may be required—Rainy weather.

December [page 40]

Saturday 28th The men employed as yesterday Traded 6 beaver skins & three otters.—Weather Rainy—

Sunday 29th—Weather as yesterday—Held forth for about an hour, on religious subjects to the Indians who as usual collected for edification—

Monday 30th The men employed sawing and squaring oak wood for Bastions—The weather has again set in frosty—No trade

Tuesday 31st—The men employed as yesterday—Froze intensely during the last 24 hours—Many Indians have collected about the place who have a good many beaver, &c—They are very anxious to obtain supplies but are reluctant to give two beavers per blanket—To say the least of it, it was the most blind policy to begin the trade here in the spring at one beaver per blanket, when there were no opposition on the coast with the intention of afterwards raising the price to two.—Circumstanced as we have been here it has been no agreeable job to raise the price to two, as it exposed us to constant jarrings with the natives who are still in bad humour on that account—The reducing of prices is an easy business, but to raise them a difficult one at all times and ought never to be done but in cases of absolute necessity—

January 1834 [page 46]

Wednesday 1st Gave the men a blowout similar to that which they had on Christmas day, which afforded them ample enjoyment—The frosty weather continues—

Thursday 2nd The men were not required to work today as they are rather indisposed after yesterday's debauch—Weather still frosty—

Friday 3rd—All hands resumed their former occupations, that is to say, two were employed sawing planks and the rest squaring oak logs for Bastions—Weather as above.

Saturday 4th As yesterday
Sunday 5th The weather still frosty—Many Indians are on the ground offering up their devotions to their maker—
Monday 6th Two men sawing and the rest preparing wood for bastions, and as they will continue so employed during the week it will be unnecessary to report their work daily—Rained during the night and most part of this day—Some business done in the way of traffic with the natives
Tuesday 7th Traded all the skins which the Indians about the place had, amounting to about 50 Beaver and otters. Weather foggy with light rain at intervals

January 1834 [page 42]

Wednesday 8th Very few Indians now about the place—Rain and sunshine at intervals—
Thursday 9th—Weather as yesterday—
Friday 10th—Weather very disagreeable; having rain, frost, snow and sleet all in succession within the 24 hours—
Saturday 11th The week's work of the people has been miserable—little has been done and that little very badly done—which is however not owing to the disinclination of the men to do their work well but to their incapacity—
Sunday 12th Many of the neighboring Indians assembled to go through their devotions, and it is very satisfactory to perceive that they at length begin to think seriously on religious subjects. Weather rainy
Monday 13th The people employed as during the past week, namely, sawing, squaring oak wood for bastions, cutting firewood &c. Traded some beaver from the Inds. who arrived yesterday—Weather as yesterday
Tuesday 14th Sent off five men in a boat to Fort Langley for some supplies and for the accounts of that place for Outfit 1833—I would have gone myself had I a proper person to leave in charge here—The rest of the men employed sawing and roofing the dwelling house—Snowed heavily in the afternoon—

January 1834 [page 43]

Wednesday 15th Two men sawing, two cutting firewood & two sick—Weather frosty, snowed heavily during the night—Traded 15 Made Beaver[65].
Thursday 16th The men employed as yesterday—Snowed much during last night and this day—No trade—
Friday 17th—Had the last of the covering of the Big House put on—Owing to the badness of our saw, and sawyers, we make but slow progress

[65]Skins which were damaged and had been pieced together. They were inferior to the perfect skins but could be used in the London markets.

at cutting boards, as indeed we have done all along at every kind of work owing to the incapacity of our people—Those not employed at the covering of the house, were occupied at cutting and hauling home firewood—Weather very cold.—

Saturday 18th The people all employed at cutting and bringing home firewood—The weather continues very cold, and there is about two feet deep of snow on the ground.—

Sunday 19th—Weather as yesterday—

Monday 20th All hands employed squaring logs for Bastions, and haulng the same home with Oxen—The people are such bad squarers that a great part of this work already done is useless—Weather still frosty

Tuesday 21st—The people employed as yesterday—Weather rather milder than for some days past, but no thaw—Little doing in the way of trade—

January 1834 [page 44]

Wednesday 22nd The people employed as last stated, viz squaring and hauling home oak logs for Bastions—Weather still cold and the snow undiminished—

Thursday 23rd The people employed as yesterday—Weather also the same—

Friday 24th Sent two men to the Nusqually to kill game, but it appears the cold weather has driven them all away, so our hunters returned empty handed—The rest of the people finished squaring the Bastion logs—Weather cold—

Saturday 25th Sent four men with five horses a deer hunting; the rest of the people employed squaring posts for the bastions—clear cold weather as for some time past—

Sunday 26th—Weather very clear and cold—A good many Indians about the place performing their religious duties, in which they have become very punctual.

Monday 27th Two men employed cutting firewood, and two squaring posts for bastions—All the Indians who assembled yesterday, left early this morning for their several camps—Weather as yesterday—

Tuesday 28th The people employed as yesterday—Weather also the same—Clear and cold—Some Cowlitz Inds. arrived, with a few beaver, but did not trade by reason, they say, our goods are too dear—These fellows have already traded at two beaver per blanket, and they again make a stand; so difficult is it to change a tariff with them—

January 1834 [page 45]

Wednesday 29th Two men employed squaring wood for bastions—two cutting firewood—The four men who went a hunting on the 25th re-

turned unsuccessful having killed only one deer, which they ate the whole except one joint—An Indian arrived with the unpleasant intelligence that a vessel has been lately wreck at Cape Flattery and that all hand perished except two men who are now with the Indians there.

Thursday 30th Two men sawing, one making fort gates, and two at the bastion wood, one looking after the cattle and one cutting firewood—Ouvré getting a canoe in readiness to set out tomorrow to ascertain the truth of the Indian report about the ship wreck—Rained heavily during the day—

Tuesday 31st The men employed as yesterday—Ouvré set off with an Indian for the purpose above stated—Rained all last night and this day with a hurricane wind—

Saturday 1st February The duties of the place as yesterday—Weather much the same, but if anything, more boisterous—The snow is now entirely gone

Sunday 2nd Towards break day this morning we were visited by a dreadful hurricane of wind which tore up some of the largest trees by the roots, broke others and nearly blew down the fort which was only saved by the shelter of the woods to windward and the props we placed to support it

February 1834.—[page 46]

Monday 3rd—All hands employed squaring the frame wood of the bastions, that already prepared being useless—It is in this clumsy manner we have all along got on with our work for want of skillful workmen, most of the jobs having to be done twice before they will anything like answer—Weather still boisterous—Traded 36 Beaver

Tuesday 4th—The people employed as yesterday—High winds and heavy rain—

Wednesday 5th As yesterday

Thursday 6th Two men employed squaring logs for building a kitchen and the rest at making the bastions—Traded a few beaver and otters—Weather rather more settled than for some days past—No trade—

Friday 7th The people employed as yesterday—Weather rainy—No trade—Late in the evening Ouvré returned and reported that the story about the shipwreck is a mere fabrication which he ascertained at the Chlallum village at New Duginess[66]—Traded a few skins

Saturday 8th Duties of the place as above—Rained heavily during last night, but the day was clear and pleasant—Traded a few skins and a little fresh venison—sufficient to give one day's ration to the people which is the first rations, the product of the place, they have had.

[66]New Dungeness which was named by Captain George Vancouver in April, 1792, from its resemblance to Dungeness, in the British channel.

February 1834 [page 47]

Sunday 9th Rained during the night but clear and serene in the day time—

Monday 10th Weather as yesterday—Two men hauling home logs with the Oxen—three making bastions and two squaring logs for making a kitchen of 15 ft square. No trade—

Tuesday 11th As yesterday

Wednesday 12th—Heavy rain and high wind—The bastions were at last finished—at least everything is fitted and put together on the ground so that we only want hands enough to raise them—Two men as usual preparing wood for a kittchen—

Thursday 13th The weather but little improved—All hands employed putting up a kittchen of 15 feet square—No trade

Friday 14th—As yesterday

Saturday 15th Nothing particular—

Sunday 16th Snowed about a foot during last night—and continued snowing heavily during the day—

Monday 17th Sent Ouvré and Brown on a trading excursion to environs of Ouvre's River[67]. The rest of the people employed as on Saturday. Traded a few skins from a few Indians of the Sound who arrived yesterday—snowed again today

February 1834 [page 48]

Tuesday 18th—Snowed so heavily as to render it impossible for our people to carry on the building of the kittchen—Nothing a doing—

Wednesday 19th Weather but little improved and but little work done except getting firewood—

Thursday 20th Weather cold and clear—Two men sawing—two hauling home firewood & the rest cutting firewood—Traded a few skins—

Friday 21st—Our people at length returned from Frasers River after experiencing a very tedious & unpleasant voyage, both going and coming—They brought some supplies for Outfit 1834 but not all that were requested—

Saturday 22nd Sent Ouvré, with four men, & an Indian Chief as a protector, on a trading excursion to the Klallams &c—And sent Pierre Charles with three men on a hunting excursion amongst the Islands of the Sound—The few hands at home employed airing the furs & goods which I find rather damp—

Sunday 23rd—Clear mild weather—

[67]Ouvre's River. This is the Duwamish River. See: Journal of William Fraser Tolmie, July 8-10, 1833, for an account of an excursion to the country adjacent to the city of Seattle. Ouvrie had brought intelligence to the effect that the country was favorable for the site of a trading post, but the excursion proved it to be unfavorable.

Monday 24th The men at home employed cutting and hauling some firewood—Traded a few skins from Nusqually and Skatchet Indians who again begin to grumble loudly at our two beaver tariff—Weather mild & snow deep—

February 1834 [page 49]

Tuesday 25th Pierre Charles and his associates returned with the meat of 8 Chiv.[68] deer—The snow thaws a little in the day time but it freezes strongly during the night—Traded five beaver skins from a Soquamish Indian

Wednesday 26th The people who yesterday arrived did no work and the others were employed as yesterday and the day before, drying furs & goods which are rather damp Weather clear & mild in the day time, but cold at night—Snow still deep—

Thursday 27th The men all employed cutting fence poles—The trade is now very dull the Indians being determined to hold up their furs, now that the severity of the winter is over, in hopes of an opposition casting up —Fine warm weather in the day time but the nights are still cold; the snow however is nearly all gone except in the woods, where it is still at least half a foot deep—

Friday 28th Took the Inventory of the property in Store and closed the business of Outfit 1833—The men employed as yesterday—The weather continues fine—

Outfit 1834 March 1st 1834.—[page 51]

Saturday—The people of the place employed cutting fence poles—And Ouvré and party returned from the Klalams with about fifty made Beaver, being but a small portion of the furs that those Indians have on hand, but with which they will not part at our prices, resolved like all the other tribes to wait the arrival of an opposition—Weather fine—

Sunday 2nd Fine weather—The ground nearly all bare of snow.[69]

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[68]Chevreuil is the French word for roebuck, the male of the roedeer (Capreolus caprea).

[69]Owing to the bookbinder's blunder the pages of the Nisqually Journal containing the records from March 2 to May 19 have been left out of the present volume, and other pages, quite irrelevant, have been substituted. These irrelevant pages have been numbered with the rest, and the Journal will be continued in the next issue of the Quarterly as page 72.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOURNAL OF A TOUR ON THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA IN THE YEAR 1829. By Jonathan S. Green. (New York, Chas. Fred. Heartman, 1915. Pp. 105.)

This is a reprint of information found in early numbers of the Missionary Herald. There are references to the Sandwich Islands and descriptions of part of Oregon, California and the Northwest coast and of the native peoples. But 150 copies of the little book were printed and it will be prized in the collectors' libraries.

THE BORDER SETTLERS OF NORTHWESTERN VIRGINIA, FROM 1768 TO 1795. By Lucullus Virgil McWhorter. (Hamilton, Ohio, for Judge J. C. McWhorter, 1915. Pp. 509.)

This book is not in the field covered by this Quarterly, but it is the work of a citizen of North Yakima in this State. As a local product it calls for mention. Mr. McWhorter is the author of a work formerly noted,—"The Crime Against the Yakimas." This new work is beautifully printed and illustrated. It is fortified with documents and will undoubtedly receive a warm welcome among the local historians in the neighborhood of Virginia.

A CALIFORNIA CHRONOLOGY, 1510-1860. Compiled by Orra Eugene Monnette. (Los Angeles California, 1915. Pp. 52.)

This little book is neatly printed and illustrated. Three hundred copies were privately published. The records are very brief but they will prove valuable for quick reference.

REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA, Volume 19, 1914. Edited by George M. Wrong, H. H. Langton and W. S. Wallace. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1915. Pp. 247.)

The Quarterly welcomes the opportunity of examining this annual bibliographical guide to the literature of Canadian history. The section relating to the Province of British Columbia contains some thirty pages devoted to the important books and magazine articles of 1914. The reviews are discriminating and apparently great care is taken to give a fair and adequate evaluation of the year's historical product. Conspicuous

among the reviewers are two indefatigable students with whom our readers are familiar, namely, Mr. T. C. Elliott and His Honor Judge Howay.

THE EARLY SENTIMENT FOR THE ANNEXATION OF CALIFORNIA: AN ACCOUNT OF THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN INTEREST IN CALIFORNIA FROM 1835 TO 1846. By Robert Glass Cleland. (Austin, Texas. Reprinted from the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Volume 18, Numbers 1, 2 and 3. Texas State Historical Association, 1915. Pp. 111.)

Students of Pacific Coast history have often noted the close relationship between the history of the Pacific Northwest and that of California. In no study of recent years has this close relationship been more clearly evidenced than in Dr. Cleland's discussion of the movement which eventuated in the annexation of California by the United States. Some new light is thrown upon this period, drawn from the Larkin correspondence in the Bancroft Collection of the University of California and from other manuscript sources, but the principal value of the study lies in its new presentation of old material.

RICHMOND COLLEGE HISTORICAL PAPERS, VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1, JUNE, 1915. Edited by D. R. Anderson. (Richmond, Va. Richmond College. Pp. 163, $1.00.)

The initial number of an annual publication to be devoted to the hidden things in Southern history comes from Richmond College, Virginia. It contains four biographical essays and a collection of letters relating to Revolutionary history in Virginia. The biographies are spirited studies of John Minor Botts, the anti-secessionist, who tried to play the role of neutral in the Civil War; of William Cabell Rives, the Virginia senator of ante-bellum controversies; of Richard Henry Lee, the Revolutionary patriot; and of John Moncure Daniel, editor and critic of the administration of Jefferson Davis. The letters are those written in 1775-1776 by Colonels Howe and Woodford and Major-General Charles Lee to Edmund Pendleton, at that time President of the Virginia Convention.

THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST: ITS EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AND LEGISLATIVE RECORDS: MINUTES OF THE COUNCILS OF THE RED RIVER COLONY AND THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND. Edited by Professor E. H. Oliver. (Volume 2, Ottawa, Government, 1915. Pp. 689-1348.)

Volume 1 of this important work was noted in the April number of the Washington Historical Quarterly, page 125. The second volume just-

ifies the high opinion there expressed as to the value of this documentary source book. Unfortunately no index has been provided.

SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN. Edited by William F. Bade. (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1915. Pp. 219-330.)

Besides containing a record of the year's mountaineering this January, 1915, number is noteworthy in having as its first article an appreciation of the late Edward Taylor Parsons by his intimate friend, John Muir. The pathos of the situation is intensified by the fact that John Muir followed his friend "over the great divide" within a short time. Mountaineers have lost two great friends in a single year.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 556. $3.50.)

This is volume V of the series of twelve volumes and covers the years 1814 to 1816. The volume opens with a letter to his father John Adams telling of Albert Gallatin's departure from St. Petersburg. Of course there follows a storehouse of material bearing directly and indirectly on the Treaty of Ghent. Students in the Pacific Northwest will find this one of the most valuable in the entire series.

ABNORMAL TYPES OF SPEECH IN NOOTKA; and NOUN REDUPLICATION IN COMOX, A SALISH LANGUAGE OF VANCOUVER ISLAND. By E. Sapir. (1915. Pp. 21 and 53.)

CLASSIFICATION OF IROQUOIAN RADICALS WITH SUBJECTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES. By C. M. Barbeau. (1915. Pp. 30.)

DECORATIVE ART OF INDIAN TRIBES OF CONNECTICUT. By Frank G. Speck. (1915. Pp. 10 and 63 plates.)

LITERARY ASPECTS OF NORTH AMERICAN MYTHOLOGY. By Paul Radin. (1915. Pp. 51.)

These are memoirs in the anthropological series of the Canadian geological survey. They are published by the government at Ottawa. The first one listed bears on the Pacific Northwest and is highly technical.

MOUNTAIN EXPLORATION IN ALASKA. By Alfred H. Brooks. (Philadelphia, American Alpine Club, 1914. Pp. 23. 85 cents, post free.)

This is Alpina Americana Number 3. The other two were "The High Sierra of California," by Professor Joseph N. Le Conte, and

"The Rocky Mountains of Canada," by Professor Charles E. Fay. These sumptuously illustrated monographs are not intended as a commercial enterprise, but as a beautiful presentation "of the Alpine mountains of the Western Hemisphere by eminent authorities." The work of Mr. Brooks on the Alaska mountains lives up to this high aim.

Other Books Received

ALASKA TERRITORY. Session Laws, Resolutions and Memorials of the second regular session of the Territorial Legislature, 1915. (Juneau, Daily Empire Print, 1915. Pp. 341.)

ASHWORTH, JOHN H. The Helper and American Trade Unions. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. Pp. 135.)

COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Records, Volume 18. (Washington, D. C., The Society, 1915. Pp. 280.)

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report, 1915. (Hartford, The Society, 1915. Pp. 42.)

DAHL, GEORGE. Materials for the History of Dor. Transactions of the Conniceticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Volume 20, Pages 1-131. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915.)

FLIPPIN, PERCY SCOTT. The Financial administration of the Colony of Virginia. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. Pp. 95.)

FOX, CARROLL. Public Health Administration in the State of Washington. Reprint from the Public Health Reports, Volume 30, Number 6, February 5, 1915. (Washington, Government, 1915. Pp. 371-427. $0.10.)

HISTORIC LANDMARKS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA. Annual Report, 1915. (Issued by the Association at 58 Canada Life Building, Montreal, Canada. Pp. 20.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. Collections, Volume 10. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter. (Springfield, State Historical Library, 1915. Pp. 597.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions for the year 1913. (Springfield, The Society, 1914. Pp. 138.)

INNES, ARTHUR D. A History of England and the British Em-

pire. Volume 4, 1802-1914. (N. Y. Macmillan, 1915. Pp. 604. $1.60.)

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1912-1914. (Topeka, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 175.)

LIBBY, O. G., Editor. Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. (Fargo, N. D., The Society, 1913. Pp. 944.)

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Eighteenth Biennial Report for the years 1913-1914. (St. Paul, The Society, 1915. Pp. 77.)

QUAIFE, MILO M., Editor. Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts. (Madison, The Society, 1915. Pp. 357.)

THOMPSON, CHARLES MANFRED, PH. D. The Illinois Whigs Before 1846. (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1915. Pp. 165. 95 cents.)

WESTERFIELD, RAY BERT. Middlemen in English Business, Particularly Between 1660 and 1760. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Volume 19, Pages 111-445. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

History of Alaska

Clarence L. Andrews, who has had years of experience in Government service in Alaska, has returned from a summer of research work in that Territory. He is preparing a work for publication. His last researches have been in the customs records to get accurate information about commerce and especially about the shipwrecks and other marine disasters along the shores. In addition to its historical value, his work will be useful to those who are seeking greater safeguards for shipping in those waters.

New Work on Jason Lee

Rev. John Martin Canse, formerly of Seattle and now of Bellingham, is carrying on researches for a book on the great Oregon missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church—Rev. Jason Lee. The scope of the book is to be greater than a biography of the one man. It will contain information about the early work of the Methodists in the Pacific Northwest. The author has prepared from his material an advance article which appears in this Quarterly.

Memorial Tablet at Point Defiance

The Mary Ball Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Tacoma, has erected in Point Defiance Park a beautiful bronze tablet recording how Point Defiance was named by the Wilkes Exploring Expedition. Impressive unveiling ceremonies were conducted on Saturday, September 25. The tablet was designed by the sculptor, Alonzo Victor Lewis, of Tacoma.

Volume of Historical Records

The Washington State Historical Society, with headquarters at Tacoma has published a volume of proceedings. It is called Volume II and bears a hyphenated date of 1907-1915. This is to tie it to a former volume published in 1906 giving particulars of the commemorative celebration at Sequalitchew Lake, Pierce County, Washington. The ceremonies were in commemoration of the Fourth of July celebration by the Wilkes Exploring Expedition at the same place in 1841. The new vol-

ume gives a record of the society's activities in the nine years since that event. It is to be hoped that the volumes will appear more frequently hereafter.

Instructors in History

Instructor Ralph H. Lutz of the University of Washington is at Stanford University for the present academic year, taking the place of Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, who is absent on leave. In his place at the University of Washington is Instructor Charles W. David, recently from the Universities of Wisconsin and Harvard.

Governors of Washington

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer is publishing as a feature of its daily editorial page a series of brief biographies of the "Governors of the Commonwealth of Washington." When completed there will be twenty-two such sketches, fourteen of Territorial and eight of State Governors.

The Columbia Highway

The completion of the Columbia Highway has been celebrated by the publication of a most beautiful book by Samuel Christopher Lancaster, Highway Engineer. The book is appropriately and lovingly dedicated to Samuel Hill, the well known advocate of good roads, who is given credit of having conceived the great highway. The book is most sumptuously illustrated, many of the plates being reproduced by a new process directly from natural colored photographs. The sheer beauty of the book will cause it to be cherished even by those who have not been privileged to see in nature the wonderful beauties it reveals, through the modern printer's skill.

Story of the Mercer Expeditions

The article in this Quarterly on the Mercer expeditions is of unusual value. Readers will discover that the author, Mrs. Engle, was a member of one of the expeditions. She writes from first hand information.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in college or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XVI. First Territorial Legislature of Washington

1. The First Council (Senate).
   a. Members, (nine):
      D. F. Bradford and William H. Tappan of Clarke County.
      Seth Catlin and Henry Miles of Lewis and Pacific Counties.
      D. R. Bigelow and B. F. Yantis of Thurston County.
      Fafayette Balch and G. N. McConaha of Pierce and King Counties.
      William P. Sayward of Jefferson and Island Counties.
   b. Officers of the Council:—
      President, G. N. McConaha.
      Chief Clerk, Elwood Evans.
      Assistant Clerk, U. E. Hicks.
      Sergeant-at-arms, J. L. Mitchell.
      Door-keeper, William B. Plumb.
2. The First House of Representatives
   a. Members, (eighteen):
      Andrew J. Bolon, John D. Biles, F. A. Chenoweth, Henry R. Crosbie, A. Lee Lewis for Clarke County.
      Samuel D. Howe for Island County.
      Daniel F. Brownfield for Jefferson County.
      Arthur A. Denny for King County.
      H. D. Hamilton and John R. Jackson for Lewis County.
      Jehu Scudder for Pacific County.
      John M. Chapman, Henry C. Moseley, L. F. Thompson for Pierce County.
      Leonard D. Durgin, Calvin H. Hale, David Shelton, and Ira Ward for Thurston County.

b. Officers of the House.

Speaker, Francis A. Chenoweth.
Chief clerk, Benjamin F. Kendall.
Assistant clerk, D. L. Phillips.
Sergeant-at-arms, E. W. Austin.
Door-keeper, James H. Roundtree.

3. Place of meeting, Olympia.
   a. Rude halls for the meetings.
4. First Territorial Officers.
   a. Appointed by the President:—

Governor, Isaac I. Stevens.
Secretary, Charles H. Mason.
United States Marshal, J. Patton Anderson.
United States District Attorney, John S. Clendenin.
Judges of the United States District Court, Edward Lander, Victor Monroe, O. B. McFadden.

   b. Elected by the people.

Delegate to Congress, Columbia Lancaster.

5. Laws.
   a. Code Commission of three judges.
   b. Common school system established.
   c. Oregon laws re-enacted.
   d. Woman suffrage defeated.
   e. Prohibition defeated.
   f. Annexation of Sandwich Islands favored.
   g. Adoption of Territorial Seal.
6. Message of the Governor.
   a. Able state paper.
   b. Date of delivery Feb. 28, 1854.
   c. Advice followed.
   d. Prophecy of Territory's greatness.
7. Legislative Journals.
   a. Carefully kept.
   b. Reveal hopes as well as accomplishments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Some of the books cited below are prime sources. They are not common but where at all available they will be found in-

spiring. Reference is here made to the journals and laws of the legislature. Among the other books cited will be found a few that are easily accessible in most of the libraries of the Northwest.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of, Volume XXXI. (History of Washington, Idaho and Montana). Chapter III deals with the first government of the Territory.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Chapter XVII will be found applicable to this study. It deals with the organization of Washington Territory.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER. The issue of March 5, 1899, has an article about D. F. Brownfield, who was at that time one of the few survivors of the first session of the Legislature.

STEVENS, GENERAL HAZARD. Life of Isaac I. Stevens, Volume I, Chapter XXII. Here will be found a record of the first Legislature by the son of the first Governor.

TACOMA DAILY LEDGER. The issue of September 20, 1908, has an interesting article about General James C. Strong, the last known survivor of the first Legislature.

Washington, Territory of. Session Laws of 1854 and Journals of Council and House of Representatives for 1854. These are prime sources and, when available, should be studied.

WESTERN TRAIL. This magazine was published for a short time in Seattle. Sets of it are probably very rare. The number for January, 1900, had an artitle entitled "First Legislature of the Territory of Washington." Here are found facts and figures as well as some of the human interest of that important assembly.

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